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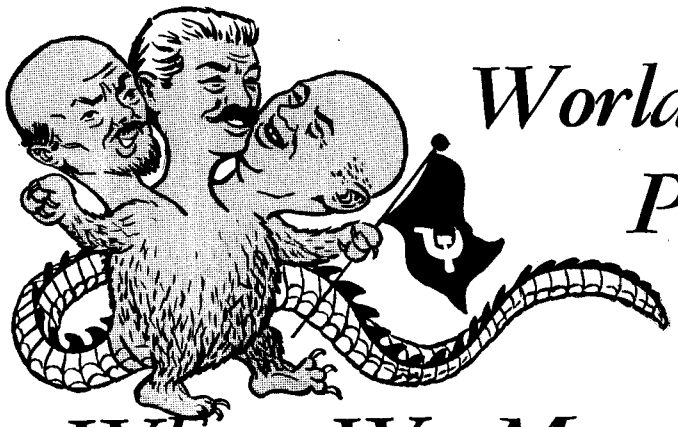
A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION



World Communism: Phase III

BRANKO LAZITCH

Where We Must Stand

WILHELM ROEPKE

Gore Vidal's "Romulus"

Reviewed by NOEL E. PARMENTEL JR.

Articles and Reviews by · · E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN
THOMAS MOLNAR · HENRY HAZLITT · GUY DAVENPORT
COLIN CLARK · JAMES BURNHAM · VINCENT MILLER

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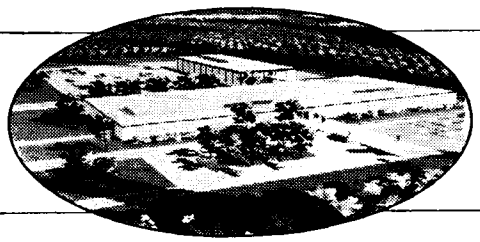

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NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

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In This Issue . . .

➔ We print key sections of an address delivered in Italy by **Wilhelm Roepke** last autumn, the timeless truths of which have been given an acute new relevance by the ominous shift that has just taken place in the politics of that NATO ally. We would identify Dr. Roepke as one of the world's foremost economists if "economist" were not much too restricted a title for his humane and far-ranging wisdom. . . . **Branko Lazitch** cuts through the obfuscations of the Kremlinologists to explain in clearcut paragraphs the present stage of development of the world Communist enterprise. Mr. Lazitch, who contributed a brilliant essay to *NR*'s 1960 supplement on Sino-Soviet relations, "Bear and Dragon," is a Yugoslav by birth, who fought alongside Draja Mihailovitch against Nazis and then against Communists. He has since lived as an exile in Paris, where he is an editor of *Est & Ouest,* Europe's leading periodical dealing with Soviet and Communist affairs. . . . Another foremost economist, **Colin Clark,** once of Australia, well known in the United States, now a member of Oxford's Agricultural Economics Research Institute, also breaks through the fence of "economics" to reflect on what events and persons and years have been the most important of our century; and reaches surprising conclusions. . . . *NR*'s multiple-threat, continent-roving, Austria-homing contributor, **Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn,** exercises the privilege of all foreign correspondents to tell us Americans about ourselves: in this instance, us American conservatives about ourselves, our pluses and some of our minuses, as these appear to the discerning eye of a tested veteran in our army.

➔ *NR* contributing editor **Thomas Molnar** begins the book section with a study of Jean Lartéguy's remarkable first novel, *The Centurions,* just published in English translation, which finally breaks with Sartrian and other leftist clichés to tell some of the truths about the tragic Frenchmen who fought in the Resistance, in Indochina, in the Algerian parachute corps and now in the Secret Army. . . . And contributing editor **Henry Hazlitt,** whose column of good sense looks ever more lonely as the issues of the reorganized *Newsweek* go along their *Post*-ward course, reviews a book on that pair joined by so subtle a dialectic, *Freedom and the Law.* . . . **Vincent Miller** is not quite sure whether Daniel J. Boorstin's *The Image: or What Happened to the American Dream* is chiefly mirroring the image of America or of author Boorstin and his spiritual friends, so many of them now swarming around the White House. Mr. Miller, who wrote last summer about the Adams-Jefferson letters, teaches at Wofford College in North Carolina. . . . **Guy Davenport** also teaches, at Haverford; he describes and estimates that unusual combination of personal record, zoology and anthropology, Robert Ardrey's *African Genesis.* . . . And **Noel E. Parmentel Jr.,** who wears an old New Orleans drawl somewhere back of those knives, goes to work on the latest, and ripest, Broadway tickler by his old Delta-mate, Gore Vidal. ➔

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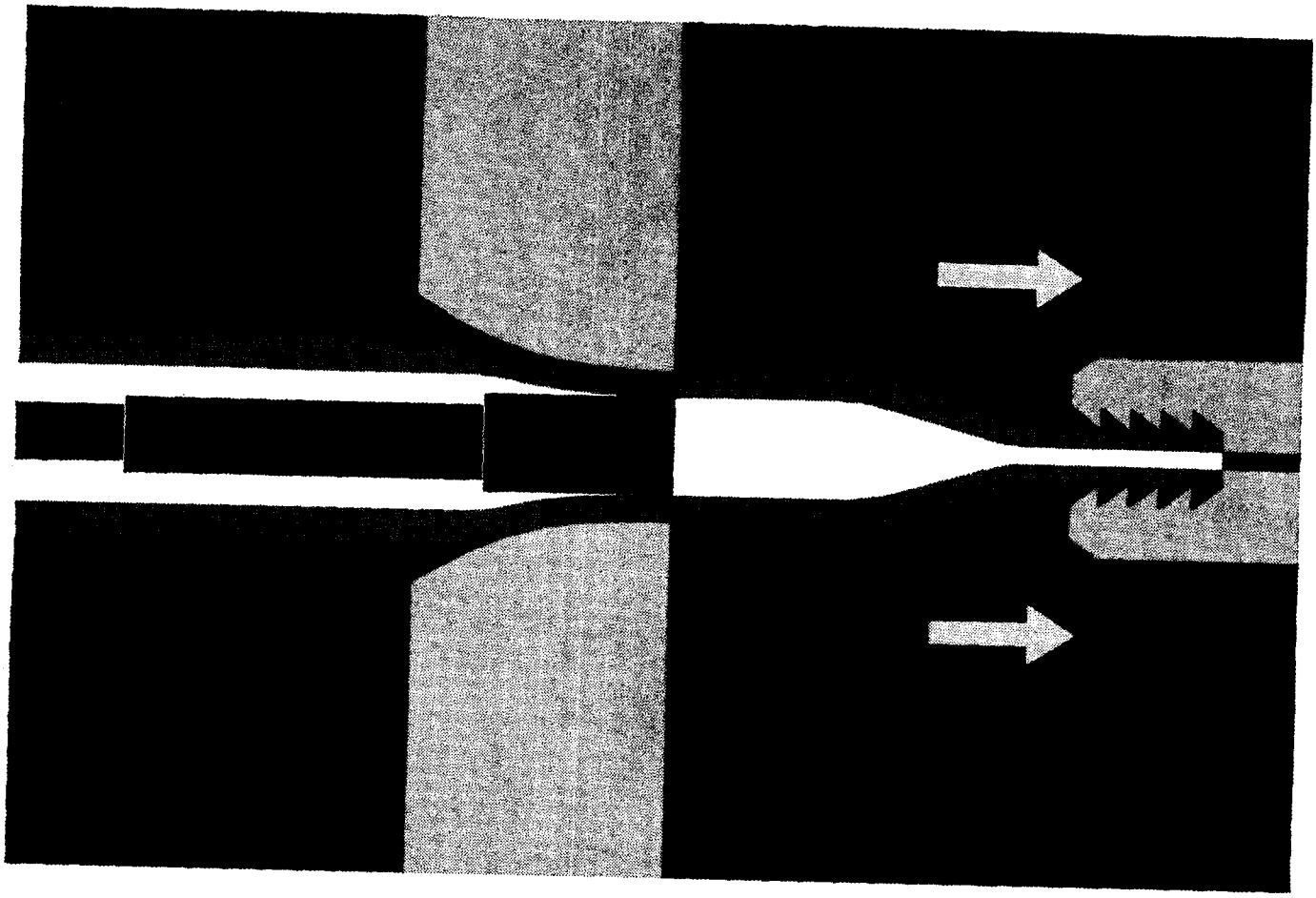

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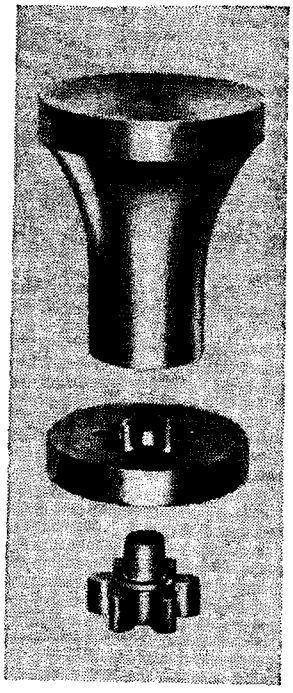

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The WEEK

● From a large office space, divided only by partitions, on the second floor of 244 East 46th Street, New York City, there are operating at the present time the following four organizations: 1) Youth Against the Ultra-Right Rally—one of the groups organizing picket lines against the YAF Madison Square Garden rally; 2) Liberation Committee for Africa, among whose officers appear names also associated with the Fair Play for Cuba Committee; 3) Afro-American Research Institute; 4) Information Bureau of the Congo (Léopoldville) Mission to the United Nations. Try reading the list over again, backwards.

● President Kennedy has asked Congress to double the budget of the Peace Corps—from $30 million to $64 million. Why? Because the Peace Corps has accomplished deeds of measurable worth? No evidence of that, beyond its own Public Relations handouts. Because the Corps has produced a feeling of goodwill toward the United States? Not proven, perhaps even the opposite in a number of countries. Because the Corps is sought by many lands? Not always so: some countries don't want it, don't know what to do with it, and accept it merely to please their benefactor. Because it performs unique and indispensable tasks? Not so: it overlaps a dozen existing agencies, both U.S. and UN. No, the Administration's interest in expanding the Peace Corps proceeds from the realities of precinct politics: the Corps is a lush growth which can sprout a separate branch for the Administration's political family and friends; a production line for political plunder. And it is attractive to certain politicians just because it is illimitable, worldwide, and vague. If Parkinson's Law holds, the Corps will keep reaching until someone (Congress) slaps it down.

● The President submitted his proposal for a Department of Urban Affairs as part of an executive order and announced that he would name Robert Weaver as the head of the new department. The Senate vetoed the idea, 58 to 42, and the House demolished it, 264 to 150. The standard comment in the press has been that the President suffered a grievous defeat. But did he? As a virtuoso of political tactics, did he unknowingly blunder? Perhaps: but it is more likely that he set up the Urban Affairs idea as a patsy, and Weaver as the fall guy, knowing the thing would be knocked down this first round, but hoping to pin the rap on Congress, while taking credit for backing a plan with a double demagogic appeal—in an election year. So he succeeded, then. But so, for the time being, did Congress; and the taxpayers.

● President Kennedy told a world-wide audience over Voice of America that the United States will continue to seek "free flow of information" across "national boundaries" and "Iron Curtains." Several congressmen are drawing up a petition asking the President to extend the idea to Washington.

● B-b-but Ike's at Gettysburg! (From Presidential press conference, February 8): "Q. Mr. President, I understand that our Congo airlift has now surpassed the Berlin airlift of 1948. Could you tell me just what these supplies consist of and are we footing the bill entirely or are other UN nations also helping? A. Well, the cost of the airlift is being paid for by the United Nations, to which we contribute. One of the ways in which we had hoped to lessen our contribution, as I said, was—or to make our contribution more effective, rather—was through the bond issue. But they've been carrying—since the United Nations has assumed a responsibility in the Congo—we have been carrying supplies into that area for many months. And in order to fulfill the purposes of the United Nations, which I think extremely important in the Congo—and I think that the support we've given to the operation in the Congo, in my opinion, should be a source of satisfaction to us all."

● A little over a year ago, in the Gotterdammerung of the Eisenhower Administration, then Secretary of the Interior Fred Seaton authorized the Federal Government to build 2,000 miles of electric transmission lines to pass the juice from the Colorado River Storage Project to Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona and Utah. The investor-owned public utilities and the Right-thinking press sent up a cry of protest that may even have been heard on high in the new Administration. For last week Mr. Stewart Udall, the current Secretary of the Interior, shocked all parties concerned by announcing that the Federal Government will step down and allow private utilities to operate the transmission system. Mr. Udall says he hopes this decision will quiet the fight between public power and private power. It won't.

● In 1938, *The Merchant of Venice* was removed from the curriculum of New York City English classes because "students in their formative years might not be mature enough to evaluate the portrait of Shylock." (Presumably, the Board of Education felt its students *would* be mature enough to evaluate the portraits of Hamlet and Lear.) Although the play has never been restored to the curriculum (Dr. Steinlein, Director of Instructional Materials, says no publishers are offering a school textbook

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edition), the Board felt it possible to risk one daring step after the twenty-four prudent years. After solemn deliberation, it approved the circulation of publicity in the schools about *The Merchant's* current production at New York's Gate Theater.

● Senator Goldwater, speaking before a Republican rally in Detroit, noted the "absence of polka-dot bow ties" (Soapy Williams' trademark) in the audience. "Someone told me you have exported the bow tie to Africa," he continued. "Well, they say exports strengthen an economy. I can't imagine any export you could have made which would have done more to strengthen the economy of Michigan."

● 1) Brazil, which has been expropriating American business assets, received $2.7 million in credits last week under the Alliance for Progress (and expects $237 million more any day). 2) Chile, which hasn't stolen American assets recently, complains that funds from the Alliance for Progress aren't coming through. 3) Why doesn't Chile steal Brazil?

● The wide-angled smear, or how Drew Pearson does it, from a recent column: "It is impossible to estimate how many officers belong to the right-wing clique. They probably are few in number compared with those loyal, patriotic officers who believe in civilian rule." Now, class, if Officer A is loyal, then Officer B is—that's right. And if Officer A believes in civilian rule, then Officer B . . . So now you know what those beastly right-wingers are up to.

● "*Experienced Butcher wanted: to cut and serve customers; good wages and accommodations to right man. Write S2015* [London Evening Advertiser]." Just make sure he's not a mercenary.

● Young Americans for Freedom has filed suit—unsuccessfully—against Secretary of State Rusk, demanding that Moise Tshombe be allowed to enter the country in time for its March 7 rally at Madison Square Garden. Though State has publicly announced its opposition to a visit by Tshombe, it has not made an official ruling on the matter . . . Outside the giant YAF rally, across Eighth Avenue, there will be an instructive motley of pickets. Groups already publicizing their intention to picket the rally include 1) Campus Americans for Democratic Action, the student branch of ADA; 2) New York State College Young Democrats; 3) Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party; and 4) "Youth Opposed to the Ultra-Right Rally." Inside the Garden, it promises to be the most exciting rally in the history of postwar conservatism. A limited number of tickets for seats and standing room will be sold at the door at 8:15, after ticket holders have been accommodated. The program begins promptly at 8:00, and will be broadcast nationally over the ABC radio network.

Erratum. An editorial published in the issue dated Feb. 13, 1962 stated that Harold Taylor, "addressing 1,500 anti-arms demonstrators blocking public highways opposite UN headquarters," "told them to demand immediate unilateral disarmament." This statement was based on what we had believed to be the first-hand report of a reliable witness. Our source was in error. Mr. Taylor writes us that, though he "would have been happy to have [addressed the 1,500] had [he] been invited by an appropriate sponsor," "the event you described simply did not occur."

Reflections from Space

John Glenn is an authentic hero, and is conducting himself as a hero should. This does not mean just like all other heroes: for heroes are particular, not abstract, and emerge out of the particularities of a time and place and people. Glenn's time is the age of electronics, rockets and computers, of transistorized technology; and Glenn is a technological hero, appropriately dressed in the gleaming space suit of what was once Science Fiction, strapped with electrodes, couched before a galaxy of dials and radar screens. His place and people are America; and his words, in sound and meaning, his gestures, feelings and "philosophy" (lack of philosophy, rather) have the American resonance.

Or do they? The great mass of the nation thinks so, that is, feels so. It is "American" as in older storybooks, as in legend and myth and dream—brought up to technological date, of course—as, let's say it plainly, in the pre-1930 Fourth of July celebrations; and the *Saturday Evening Post* covers before they too, not long ago, went modern; and a touch of soap opera. Somewhat corny, then? Yes, a bit corny—for that is the traditional American style. Too corny by far for the Norman Cousinses, Arthur Schlesingers, Adlai Stevensons, Henry Steele Commagers, Max Lerners, John Kenneth Galbraiths, and those others of our enlightened age—so many of them now fluttering around the Kennedy throne—who have long left behind the old provincial corn for a headier global brew.

How odd they would have sounded from the lips of Cousins, Lerner, Commager or Rostow, those words that seemed so natural in John Glenn's talk to Congress: "I know I still get a real-hard-to-define feeling down inside when the flag goes by. As we rode up Pennsylvania Avenue today from the White House and saw this tremendous outpouring of feeling on the part of so many people, I got that same feeling all over again. And let's hope that none of us ever

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loses it . . . As our knowledge of this universe in which we live increases, may God grant us the wisdom and guidance to use it wisely." (God? Why, He's been unconstitutional for years. John Glenn sounds as if when he was a boy he was proud to recite the Pledge to the Flag, and glad to say the Lord's Prayer, even in his classroom.)

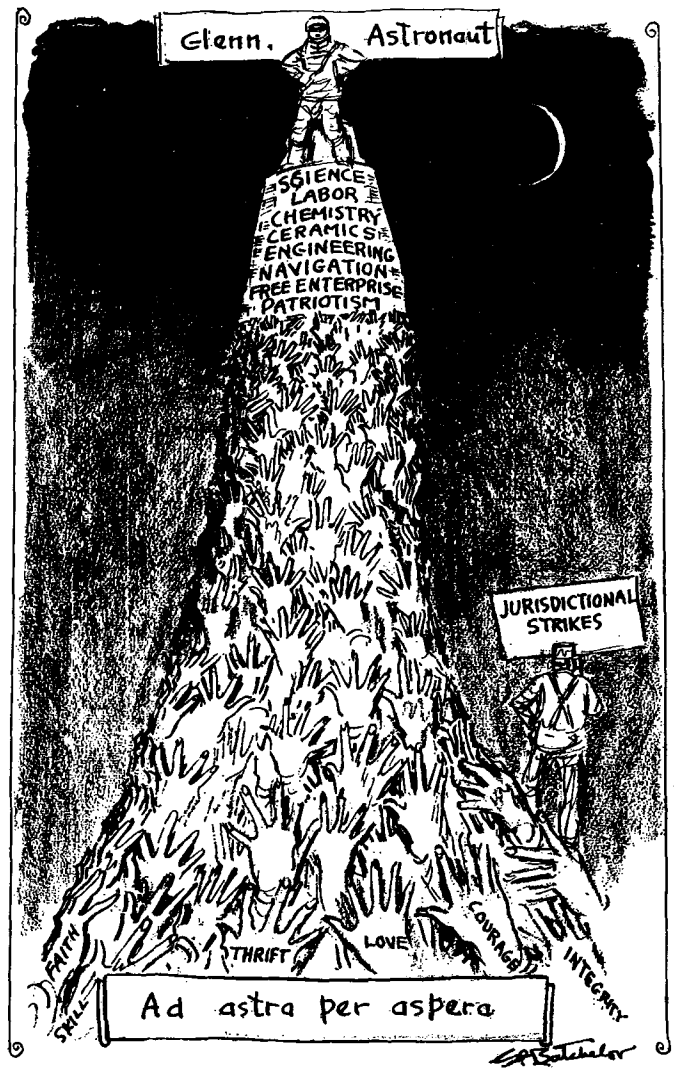
We're afraid some of us *have* lost that feeling, Astronaut Glenn. Glance back at the news photos of the Turn Toward Peace crowd that preceded you by a few days to the White House environs, and you'll find, alas, that your hope cannot be wholly fulfilled.

This and that went wrong, we all learned, with the unbelievably complex mechanisms of Glenn's ship as it whirled through the emptiness of Space. The attitude control thingamajigs didn't work right. There were troubles in some of the communication instruments. A signal indicated that the latching of the heat shield was precarious. This and that went wrong with the mechanism, and man took over, and brought Friendship 7 to its strange harbor. "Man is back in space," the wise men acknowledged. "For the future," said Project Mercury officials, "man will play an essential role in navigating a space ship to the moon"—to the stars . . . Marine Officer Glenn added: "We have piped man aboard as the pilot of the spacecraft. Now we can get rid of some of that automatic equipment and let man take over."

And that is fine news, though it should hardly be news. It is good technically, because we Americans, with our gadgetry obsession and our wish for too much convenience, safety and comfort, tend to crowd all our machines and vehicles with too immensely many tricky devices. Every additional transistor in these automatic mechanisms means that many more connections to loosen; every valve can fail to open; every fuse can blow. Many sober engineers believe that this over-complication habit accounts for not a few of our missile and space troubles; and, it not being a Russian habit, for certain Soviet achievements. John Glenn's flight may have broken that habit, or bent it somewhat.

It is better news still, philosophically we might say, because it reminds us that there is no such thing, and never will be, as a "thinking" machine. Only man thinks, wills, decides, dares. No machine, on land, in sea, air or space, can do man's job for him: can choose, for good or ill.

The national ecstasy that has followed John Glenn's successful flight is natural enough, but as unsubstantial as all the erratic winds of popular feeling: as unsubstantial, say, as the gloom that swept over the country at the word of the Soviet space victories and claims. We were never so badly off as so many felt in that atmosphere of gloom; we have always



been, on net, well ahead of the Russians in our overall space projects, as our large and intricate array of orbiting satellites displays to the heavens. We have made no spectacular leap forward in our continuing, now permanent, program merely because one man has given a spectacular performance.

We seem more subject than most peoples to these wild and suddenly changing storms of feeling: all up, all down, from incidents that are in reality only points in a very long series. Khrushchev, like Stalin before him, knows well this trait of ours. He plays on our popular moods as on an organ: piping now hot, now cold; now war, now peace; brute threats, disarming smiles.

John Glenn's flight is, also, a battle of the war we are in, let us not forget. Let us be neither hypocritical nor self-deceiving. For there is a lurking hypocrisy, or a self-deception, in assigning projects like Mercury to a National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and pretending that this is a purely civilian agency, with no military function.

Of course space is now part of the battlefield, and the ships traversing space. It is man who makes these

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Where We Must Stand

Italy's present move through "the opening to the Left," and the formation of a new government based on a coalition with Pietro Nenni's fellow travelers give immediate relevance to these excerpts from the opening statement to the Mont-Pélérin Society, the distinguished association of libertarian scholars, at its meeting in Turin last fall, by Dr. Wilhelm Roepke, then its president.

In opening this meeting of the Mont-Pélérin Society I consider it to be my first duty to pay homage to the country on whose soil our annual conference takes place this year. I fear to sound trivial in mentioning the immense debt we owe to an Italy now in deadly peril, a peril more threatening than perhaps at any moment of its long history of about three thousand years.

It is a bitter irony that this cradle of our culture has become one of the most vulnerable parts of its whole structure. On account of her political unreliability and her ideological confusion, Italy is perhaps the weakest link of NATO and the least secure part of our common bulwark against the most satanic onslaught of tyranny and destruction the world has ever seen. Unfortunately, Italy offers in her Communist Party and in the weakness of most other parties the largest possible foothold for this satanism within the very precincts of the Free World. The slogan *Apertura alla sinistra* ("opening to the Left") will be sufficient to suggest to you the nature of this terrible confusion. As far as I am aware, Italy is now the only modern industrial nation of the West wherein there is conceivable what otherwise could happen only in countries like British Guiana or some province in India—a Communist takeover without recourse to other means than the normal working of mass democracy.

How could that happen? That is precisely one of the big problems we have gathered to explore.

But the special problem of Italy is a grim reminder of the general situation in which we assemble here. In the whole history of the Mont-Pélérin Society the outlook for the values we stand for has never been as dark as now. We may live to see once more confirmed a great truth of human history: that suicide, not murder, is the normal form of death of a cultural system. It is not the strength of the barbarians but the moral and intellectual weakness of the civilized that is usually their undoing.

There is no longer any doubt that the real trouble on our side is a certain state of mind, a permanent disposition towards mistakes, plus intellectual confusion and moral disorientation of almost unbelievable dimensions: a sort of multiple sclerosis of Western politics, a fundamental lack of what is called in French *volonté politique*, a lack which may deprive even supreme intelligence of its real value. This paralysis of political will-power must have deep reasons, and it is these that we need to explore. What we are likely to find is wrong thinking of the kind for which the Italians have a word that is as pregnant as it is untranslatable: *sinistrismo* (roughly: "a total—*i.e.*, intellectual and moral as well as political—Leftism").

It has never been more necessary to work against the incredible intellectual and moral confusion in our struggle against Communism, and to combat *sinistrismo* as the real cause of the multiple sclerosis that I mentioned. Never also has it been more necessary to give a moral example: of courage; of standing firm on first principles; of having a sure sense of the right order of values; of remembering that to be a man standing for the value and the patrimony of our civilization is infinitely more than to be a scientist to whom we may apply the famous saying of Rabelais, "Knowledge without insight means only the destruction of the spirit."

Now is the hour when we shall be weighed, and let us hope that we shall not be found wanting. Let us get to work, not in an ivory tower of scientific aloofness and relativism, but keeping in mind that we are menaced by an avalanche that would bury also science itself. Let us declare to the whole world that no one whose mind is not already poisoned by Communism can pretend to be neutral *vis-à-vis* this last proof in Berlin of what Communism really is, without revealing thereby that he is a stupid barbarian and utterly contemptible.

These are surely strong words from your president. But we should remember what a great man of the eighteenth century—himself a scholar of merit—the German physicist and essayist Georg Christoph Lichtenberg has said: "When it is a mistake to be moderate in condemning, indifference becomes a crime." Or if you will allow me to quote what I wrote myself, at the darkest hour of the last war, in my book *The Social Crisis of Our Time:* "A society is in a bad way if its patellar reflexes no longer react instantaneously to the bludgeon blows of broken laws and arbitrary power, of inhumanity, intolerance, cruelty and mercilessness, and if that apathy sets in which is the harbinger of the coming breakdown."

Let us give the deepest sense to our life as scientists, politicians, men of affairs and leaders of public opinion, by doing our very utmost to avert this peril. And let us avoid the mental disease of so many intellectuals who have forgotten another word of wisdom, also Lichtenberg's: "One has to believe in certain ultimate values because it would be absurd not to believe in them."

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ships, plots and directs their course; the same man who walks the earth. And for man, the irrepressible issue that has been joined will have to be decided.

As Witness Khrushchev's Ploy

Thus, one immediate result of Colonel Glenn's flying sorcery is the Soviet request that the United States and the Soviet Union get together in a cooperative (communal?) program of space exploration. The Soviet proposal is typically versatile: 1) it implies that the United States has refused to cooperate in the past, thus producing tension; 2) it aims at sharing our hard-won secrets with the Communists; 3) it continues the Soviet chant about "peaceful uses" of technology; 4) it indirectly implies that the Soviets have some wizardry we'd like to be apprenticed to; 5) and it implies that our space program is irrelevant to the challenges of the Cold War.

Our answer to the Soviet proposal was, as usual, a muted approval, which implicitly tolerated the propaganda claims inherent in it. The proper response would have been this: "When the Soviet Union frees its slaves, honors its treaties, pays its debts, ceases its aggressions, and agrees to reciprocal travel and inspections, then we shall cooperate. Until then, our skills are a weapon in the war the Soviet Union has declared and is now waging on all fronts, and it would be folly to part the curtains at Cape Canaveral while the Soviet Union reinforces the Wall in Berlin, and reinforces the Viet Cong in Southeast Asia."

Of course, nothing will come of the talk about cooperation. If any conference starts, the Communists will scuttle it and blame us for obstructionism. All the more reason, then, to state our position at the outset, and at least let the non-Communist world recognize that our foreign policy is now in the same orbit as our space program: that is, circling the free areas of the world, and seeing sunrises.

Parkinsonian Culture

When a nation's leaders demonstrate through the conduct of their own lives a taste and appetite for the arts, they stimulate an interest which radiates from the center to the remotest corners of the land. So, to have a President and a First Lady who can enjoy a Bach Suite as well as "The Missouri Waltz," who have an enlightened interest in painting, furniture, sculpture, literature—yes, and even *haute cuisine*—of and by itself tends to lift the cultural sights of a people. Historically this is so. In the Athens of Pericles, the Rome of Augustus, the Florence of Lorenzo; in the courts of Hanover and Vienna, in London, Madrid and Paris, there have been rulers, both men and women, who not only subsidized the arts and paid the artists, but to whom there could be no full existence without those external beauties which are best evoked by sound, color and form. It was under these Maecenases that Western cultures flourished and evolved; and in this country, there has been heightened interest in matters cultural since the Kennedys—and most particularly Jacqueline Kennedy—entered the White House.

But this cultural flowering must be natural and organic. To have it imposed from on top, controlled from the seat of government, stratified and rigidified is to tread dangerous—culturally dangerous—ground: as the WPA experiments in our own country abundantly prove, not to speak of the history of the Soviets' Artists in Uniform. And this is what seems to be developing in Washington under a President who, though interested in culture, is first and foremost a political man, and transmutes everything into political terms.

So last week Mr. Kennedy appointed Mr. August Heckscher of the Twentieth Century Fund as national "cultural coordinator" (oh, dreadful, spirit-destroying title!), to operate directly from the White House. Mr. Heckscher has credentials for the job he has undertaken—he seems, by all accounts, to have a genuine and lively interest in the arts. But with his appointment, a step has been taken toward the bureaucratization of art in America; and the bureaucratic process, by its very nature, makes for a flavorless, computer-type world. If it had been up to a bureaucrat, depend on it, they never would have hired Michelangelo to paint that Sistine ceiling. His politics were wrong, and, besides, he failed to make the lowest bid.

Labor v. Progress

In New York City the Fifth Avenue Coach Lines has acquired new management, who announce their intention to reduce service on unprofitable routes and dismiss about 1,500 employees. Mr. Michael Quill, head of the Transport Workers Union, says he'll call a strike the minute the first man is laid off.

The Presidential Railroad Commission is ready to release a report on featherbedding (requiring more workers than needed). The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is howling at a pitch not heard since 1946.

Taking the midwinter sun at Bal Harbour, Florida, the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO has issued a stirring call for public works programs, reduced taxation on the lower income brackets, and a shorter work week—all as cures for unemployment.

Eastern Air Lines and American Airlines find the labor unions opposed to any layoffs that might result

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from efficiency achieved through their proposed merger.

The Pennsylvania Railroad and the New York Central have agreed to merge. Organized labor (in the person of Michael Quill again) has had sharp words for this "menacing concentration" of power.

In sum, the voice of organized labor is the voice of stagnation. Does Labor want progress? Material wealth? Increasing material wealth? If it does, it should consider the verities:

1. Wealth arises not from distribution but from production.

2. Production is stimulated by the introduction of efficiencies, including labor-saving tactics.

3. Jobs are created not by union members but by capitalists.

4. Tax cuts in the upper brackets will stimulate enterprise and create jobs.

5. Material wealth is measured in things people want, not in paper dollars—we could plaster this country with public works from coast to coast and wind up impoverished in terms of material goods.

6. In the production of material goods there is no substitute for work, and the sum total of work is not changed by reducing the work week and increasing the work force proportionately.

7. The benefits of increases in productive efficiency are more widely distributed through lowered selling prices than through higher wage rates.

The invincible ignorance of labor leaders would be amusing if it were not so dangerous. Ignorance and stupor are no threat in the competitive market, but organized labor operates in a privileged sanctuary that allows a handful of medieval throwbacks to strangulate whole sectors of economy. These bureaucrats of the labor movement are such geniuses at promoting economic growth that they have been unable even to keep up with it in their own shops: for the labor movement has actually declined in the past fifteen years. The fat cats on top, having stultified their own domain, are now giving instructions in stagnation to the President and the Congress. Which adds arrogance to ignorance—a combination that would collapse of its own error if it ever came out of political asylum and tried to support itself in the free market.

Not Wanted on the Voyage

When Fidel was at the gate,
Who croaked "Nevermore!" at State?
When Lumumba wanted in,
Who exhibited chagrin?
While we're at it, who was blue
When Sukarno and Nehru
(Not to mention Mr. K)
Visited the U.S.A.?
Sweetheart, all I know is this:
Something's dreadfully amiss
When the Castros visit State
While the Tshombes get the gate.

W. H. VON DREELE

TV or not TV

Fellow we know—a CBS fan—has an idea for a TV documentary. Says he is forwarding a memorandum to the networks and likely sponsors. Calling it, tentatively, *Rumble on the Left.* Gave us a rundown the other day. Went something like this.

Show would open with shots of Communist Party meeting singing "Internationale"; pictures of Lenin and Khrushchev over dais; final take of audience raising clenched fists in Communist salute. Then Walter Cronkite, or some other solid, respectable type, for three or four minutes, with introductory comments re "upsurge on the Left we've all been hearing about: what does it mean? where is it going?" Fade into old newsreels of Freud, with professional voice saying something like: "The ideology and practice of Leftism is, as scientific research has abundantly confirmed, a form of retrograde infantilism. The envy concealed in the rhetoric of egalitarianism expresses the infant's jealousy of his older sibling, who he thinks is responsible for his mother's decision to shift him to bottle feeding. Essentially, Leftism is a longing to return to the mother's warm breast."

Next, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. (announcer stresses *"Junior"* in giving name) shown, against White House background, expounding tenets of socialism (transcript taken from middle of lecture on history of socialist theories, but indication that Schlesinger is stating Marx' ideas, not his own, omitted in interest of speeding up action). Fades into montage of shots of leotarded peace paraders, unshaven anti-Polaris demonstrators, etc. sitting in street, flopping in water at submarine launching and lying stiff while cops try to pick them up; mixed in with overlays of Soviet peace slogans. Then Senator Jacob Javits denouncing conservatism, and selected quotes from *New York Post* editorials and columns condemning U.S. conditions and policies. About twenty quick runovers of Communists taking Fifth before HUAC, followed by quotes on civil liberties from *New York Times, Washington Post* and *Worker.*

ADA Convention (the voice of Cronkite in the background, giving the list of ADA members now working in Washington policy posts) counterpointed with shots of 1917 Russian Revolution and 1960 Tokyo riots. Professor Eric Goldman teamed up with U.S.

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Communist chief Gus Hall to explain dangers of the Right. Chester Bowles at his most disheveled moments during the 1960 Democratic Convention slides into Nikita Khrushchev ranting, with printed caption, WE WILL BURY YOU . . .

Sounds promising, we thought; just the sort of objective treatment we need for these controversial topics.

Whipping Boy?

Last fall the President dispatched a propaganda squad about the country to tell businessmen the glad tidings that the Administration is not, after all, the sworn enemy of United States industry. A few weeks ago the President, addressing the National Association of Manufacturers, once again declared his Administration's coziness toward business.

But somehow the day-by-day rhetoric of this Administration seems to express a degree of hostility toward businss seldom matched in the last three decades. The Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice can only be described as on the rampage. Its action against General Electric is brazenly punitive: for the Anti-Trust crowd would have GE sign a consent decree that would include all of GE's 250,000 products, only a handful of which have ever been involved in anti-trust litigation—with the result that any future anti-trust action related to any of these products would be subject to the unlimited and automatic penalties associated with contempt of court.

The Federal Power Commission has almost turned into a lobby for federally-operated utilities. The SEC investigation of the investment business and the security exchanges is conducted with the muckraking verbiage of a general assault on the entire investment business (and no one has asked, Where was the SEC all the time the alleged malpractices occurred?). A string of decisions by the NLRB expresses a slavish regard for union monopoly. The ICC has refused to allow Southern Railway to reduce freight rates for its newly-developed hopper cars. The FCC's chairman talks as if he had been hired to blast TV rather than to further its orderly development.

Meanwhile the President offers a budget whose tenuous "balance" rests largely on the assumption that the Federal Government will suck an extra $5 billion in taxes from business profits in fiscal '63. Is it unreasonable to suppose that the fleers and accusations cast at business are intended to distract our attention from the not-so-virginal virtues of the organized labor movement and, it might even be, the Administration's own gross nepotism and scarcely disguised barratry?

For the Record

Latest Communist Worker (Feb. 25) carries six major stories, one editorial, on various pacifist, ban-the-bomb and stop nuclear test demonstrations. Among peace fronts Worker publicizes week after week are Women Strike for Peace and Turn Toward Peace. . . . CP leaders renewing efforts to get speaking engagements before college groups to hammer home peace program. . . . Presidential aides opposing resumption atmospheric tests (Stevenson, Cleveland, Murrow) on propaganda grounds, reported losing fight. (Could be realization that neutral nations don't vote?)

Cost of seven-year Algerian war figured at upward $10 billion, 185,000 French and Algerian military dead, 16,000 French and Moslems murdered by Algerian terrorists. . . . Reliable reports have it French Premier Michel Debré leaning toward partition of Algeria, with French regrouping around Oran, Algiers, as means of satisfying OAS, stopping threat of civil war. . . . Double sentries posted at Orly, other French airfields for past two weeks; traffic between France and Algeria strictly controlled to prevent possible putsch. . . . Pro-Western former Italian premiers Giuseppe Pella and Mario Scelba refused portfolios in Fanfani's Left-supported new government.

The big Administration push this year will be over medical aid for the aged paid under Social Security program. Covered by proposed legislation would be one-fifth of voting population. . . . Ralph de Toledano has resigned as editor of World, the Washington national weekly he helped found last Oct. Karl Hess is interim editor. . . . New York Conservative Party (120 Liberty St.) reports encouraging response to first mailing.

Quotes of the Week: Brazilian state governor Leonel Brizola on State Department protest against his seizure of IT&T subsidiary: "a surprising and unusual reaction [which] shows that United States authorities are seeking to give protection to a private enterprise." . . . Soviet editor Adzhubei, on President Kennedy's statement that he wanted the Soviet Union to "leave the world as it is": "[Mr. Kennedy's views sound] strange and naive."

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From Washington Straight

CATO

At this moment, an issue is bubbling up to the surface in Washington that could have profound effects upon the future of both major parties. It is an issue which had even the ordinarily unemotional pros steaming hot. And it deals with that old devil, vote fraud—an electioneering peril particularly close to the hearts of congressmen on this the third month of an election year.

This time, it's the Republicans who are hollering foul. The GOP has a feeling that it might well have been robbed in a special election contest in Detroit two weeks ago in which the Republican candidate was beaten out by a slim 700 votes (Detroit has been known for this kind of thing). But what really touched off the uproar was the election in Queens County, New York, a week ago. According to the National Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, the GOP candidate Thomas F. Galvin won the congressional election by 40 odd votes. The Democrats, in Mayor Wagner's new boss-free fief (Wagner, so goes the joke, is the only incumbent ever to have won on a reform platform), claim the victory by 193 votes and, at the moment, the voting machines have been impounded and Republican leaders are awaiting an official canvass before deciding whether or not to demand an expensive recount.

Meanwhile, pressures are being put on the Republican candidate to stop being such a spoil-sport and admit defeat. Reliable sources say that Mr. Galvin, an architect by profession, has been told that the amount of trouble he causes over recount and recanvass will be returnable with compound interest by those New York City agencies with which he will have future professional contact.

Bobby Kennedy's performance on his worldwide Chautauqua is well on the way toward becoming a top 1962 campaign issue, with Deep South repercussions. While in Indonesia, Bobby allowed as how the U.S. was all wet *vis-à-vis* the Mexican War—a bit of *nostra culpism* which may put the Lone Star State solidly in the GOP column this fall. But worse was to come. In Berlin, the Attorney General exclaimed that the Wall would eventually fall like the "wall of segregation" in the United States—a statement which probably didn't win him any friends in Berlin where the opinion is that the Wall wouldn't be there if the Kennedy *frères* had been faster with a counter-punch, but which certainly won't win him friends south of the Mason-Dixon Line.

Congress can't wait until CIA turns U-2 pilot Francis Powers loose for its innings with him. Powers has told intelligence authorities that he was flying at 68,000 feet when an "explosion" nearly knocked him down. The question all along has been: do the Russians have a remarkable new rocket capable of bringing down the U-2 at that height, as Nikita Khrushchev has claimed, or was a mechanical or human failing responsible?

Several tape-recorded transcripts of Russian air defense and radar units picked up by U.S. monitoring stations are floating around town, and some may well be in the hands of interested members of Congress. These transcripts are reported to show: 1) The Soviets expected Powers to arrive exactly when he did (remember, he was shot down shortly after two U.S. intelligence officers disappeared and next showed up in Moscow), and 2) The Russians were heard to exclaim the U-2 was flying at 35,000 feet when Soviet aircraft scrambled in pursuit.

The Alliance for Progress program, launched with such fanfare at the first Punta del Este conference, had its congressional critics from the start, but certain recent appointments to the staff are raising ruffs in unexpected quarters. Most outrageous to many was the naming as a top aide to Alliance for Progress chief Teodoro Moscoso of Dr. Felipe Pazos, a johnny-come-lately among Cuban exiles. Dr. Pazos will play an important part in the doling out of American millions—or billions—to Latin American countries. But although the defense might be made that handling American money is what Dr. Pazos is expert in, it is hardly a recommendation most congressmen would care to make to the folks back home, given Dr. Pazos' background.

In January 1959, at the time of the Castro takeover, Dr. Pazos was appointed president of the Cuban National Bank. He remained president of the bank until November of that year, during which time he okayed the fiscal measures which resulted in the confiscation of virtually all United States property in Cuba. He went into exile, not of his own accord, but after he had been dismissed from his post as Cuban Economic Ambassador to Europe on August 8, 1960. And now, just eighteen months later, he turns up on the payroll of the Alliance for Progress—and in one of the pivotal jobs.

A little quiet chortling going the rounds on an operation that fell flat. When *Newsweek* published its blast "Thunder on the Right," the reverberations could have been registered by a five-and-dime seismograph. *Newsweek*, which had made such an effort after it was taken over by *Washington Post* publisher Philip Graham to conciliate and soothe its conservative readers, lost a big chunk of them and—so trade circles report—a hunk of advertising as well. And that gave someone a smashing idea, which was to run a spot check on a percentage of the cancellees, chosen at random, and pin down these fanatical right-wing extremists for what they are (fanatical right-wing extremists). But so far there has been no exposé either in *Newsweek* or the *Post*. The rumor in press circles here is that the *Newsweek* investigators came up, not with the Neanderthal man, as they expected, but with a bunch of representative citizens, members of their local PTAs, Rotary Clubs and Chambers of Commerce—leading citizens, in short, who had at least two things in common: a long-standing distrust of Communism and a recently acquired distaste for a leading weekly news magazine.

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World Communism: Phase Three

Khrushchev can no longer crack the whip over his empire as Stalin could, but never has the Communist threat been so serious, Communism's power so great

BRANKO LAZITCH

Several sensational and unexpected disclosures at the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (in October 1961) confirm the thesis that Communism has entered the third period of its history, into which it has been shifting since the death of Stalin. Without altering its objective, Communism was unquestionably different under Lenin (1903-1924) from what it became in the Stalin era (1924-1953). By force of circumstance, it is again changing its outward form.

The Twenty-Second Congress showed that changes of three kinds are taking place in the Communist world.

1. These changes affect, first of all, the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party itself. While it is true that Communists have always remained faithful to the fundamental principles of a revolutionary party as Lenin stated them in 1902 in *What Is To Be Done?*, it is also true that the method of leading the Communist Party has varied. Without delving into the distant past, we need only recall that until his death Stalin was all-powerful, and that under him the Party, with its four theoretically commanding organs—the Party Congress, the Central Committee, the Politburo, and the Secretariat of the Central Committee—had no real function except as instruments for carrying out orders.

Stalin's successors soon re-established the authority of the Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee. The clash in 1957 between the Secretariat (Khrushchev-Suslov) and the Politburo (Molotov-Kaganovitch - Malenkov - Bulganin-Voroshilov, *et al.*) was resolved by the Central Committee, which imposed its will on the other two. Since then the Party Congress has shared the role of leadership, at least to the extent that so cumbersome a machine can act as a directive body. At a minimum, it has served as a sounding board in order to amplify startling pronouncements and to line up the entire Party with them.

Obviously this is not democracy in the classical sense. But it is also not the dictatorial rule of a single individual who can decree death for any and every leader of the Party, including members of the Politburo and the Central Committee.

2. Important changes are also taking place inside the world Communist movement. This problem, stemming from the formation of the first Communist parties in the West and the founding of the Communist International, has also been dealt with differently at different times. Throughout the entire life of the Comintern, from 1919 to 1943, only one of its member parties held state power, and nearly all the others were feeble. Except for the Soviet, there was never more than a single party (two at most) with any significant strength: the German Communist Party first, then the French and Spanish, finally the Chinese. Today the picture is fundamentally different: twelve Communist parties actually hold power, and several others outside the Sino-Soviet orbit are fairly strong. In Europe two parties—the French and the Italian—wield considerable influence in elections and in the labor unions. In Asia, both the Indonesian and Indian parties are politically important. Under the guise of a popular front, the Communists are becoming the decisive force in Laos and Cuba. In Black Africa they are trying to pull the strings in three countries, Guinea, Ghana and Mali, which they label, for that very reason, "national democracies." In still other quarters the Communist movement is a force to reckon with: in Finland, where it commands 24 per cent of the votes; in South Vietnam, as an instrument of insurrection; in Chile and elsewhere in Latin America, where it has made political gains through the "national front" tactic.

Moscow's earlier role as tutor to a family of children is no longer easy to play now that they are grown to maturity—even less so with Stalin gone.

3. The most recent problem—and the most difficult of solution—concerns the relations inside the bloc of Communist countries. In origin it dates back only to 1945-48. Because of it, Stalin suffered his first defeat inside the Communist world: in spite of the Kremlin's anathema, Tito remained in power.

Since Stalin's death this problem has become increasingly acute. By 1956 the Kremlin had had trouble with two governing parties: the Polish and the Hungarian. At present it is at odds with two others: the Albanian and the Chinese. It is clear that Khrushchev has not the means (perhaps not even the will) to lead the Communist bloc with a whip, as Stalin did, and plainly he has found no substitute solution. The fact is that the discord in the bosom of the "socialist family" can have no immediate solution. Khrushchev cannot and does not want to drive the

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Chinese out of the "family" (as he has halfway done to the Albanians). And the Chinese know very well that they cannot win influence and importance unless they stay inside the family and content themselves with the role of a "fraction." They do not want to leave the Communist bloc.

That is why "unity" is the word most frequently used by the Chinese.

This contradictory situation explains a current phenomenon in Communist journals that has seldom been seen since 1924. Moscow's *Pravda* prints the full text of Chou En-lai's speech, including his more or less open criticism of Khrushchev's maneuvers against the Albanians. And Peiping's *People's Daily (Jenmin Jih-pao)* prints in the same issue the text of Khrushchev's speech of October 27, 1961 and that of an editorial of the Albanian Communist Party attacking Khrushchev.

"Adolescent Disorder"

Granted these changes, we need to analyze their meaning. To do so, it will be useful to borrow a metaphor from the works of Lenin.

In the spring of 1920 Lenin published a brochure that became a key contribution to the Communist canon: *Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder.* In it he rejected the extremist views of the young Communist cadres of the Germans, Dutch, Italians and English, whose members strove to be at once purer and tougher than the Russian Bolsheviks, who rejected the notion of compromise, participation in parliaments, labor unions, etc. Lenin went all out, often with surprising cynicism, to expose the error of these "leftists" and to cure them of their "infantile sickness" —as the Comintern managed to do in the next two or three years.

Communism is at present passing through its "adolescent disorder." Lenin and Stalin are gone. Khrushchev does not swing their weight in the world movement. Today there are eleven Communist countries besides the USSR, among them a major world power, and some eighty fraternal parties, several of major world importance. This "adolescent disorder" affects both doctrine and action: *doctrine,* because in Moscow there are recognized only three "classics" of "scientific socialism" (Marx, Engels and Lenin, as revised on the question of the inevitability of war), whereas Peiping boasts of five (Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung); *action,* because the role of uncontested and undisputed leader of the Communist world heretofore granted the Soviet Party is no longer the axiom that it was for forty years.

But while acknowledging this triple change, the Twenty-Second Congress confirmed unequivocally that there has been no change, rather, a hardening on one point: the attitude of the Communist world toward the free world.

At the time of the Bolshevik conquest of power in Russia and the founding of the Communist International, Lenin and his colleagues proclaimed to all mankind that their goal was world revolution. Without the means to achieve it, however, that goal was more a statement of principle than a real threat. Today the formula of world revolution, even though Moscow may cease to brandish it as a standard slogan, has become a reality. For the first time Communism possesses deadly weapons against *all* continents—military weapons for use against western Europe and the United States, revolutionary weapons for use against Asia, Latin America and Africa.

As late as 1956, at the start of the de-Stalinization era, none of these critical facts which are so evident today yet existed. In Europe Moscow was too preoccupied with the internal affairs of the Communist bloc to bother about sparking a crisis in Berlin or putting the screws on its next-door neighbors, such as Finland. In Asia neither Laos nor Vietnam was directly endangered by a Communist takeover. In Latin America Castroism was neither a serious force nor an ally of the Communists. Black Africa had no "national democracies," and in the Arab world "positive neutralism" was barely conceived.

All these are today accomplished facts, very exactly expressed in a proposition that recurs endlessly in Khrushchev's policy statements: the balance of power has shifted in favor of the Communist bloc, and he intends to make the most of it. In his speech to the concluding session of the Twenty-Second Congress on October 27 he repeated that "great changes have taken place in the relationship of forces on a world scale." This statement was intended in part for the "dogmatists" of his own bloc, who cling to earlier dogmas of capitalist encirclement of socialist countries, the threat of aggression by world capitalism, etc.; but it was likewise addressed to "world capitalism," which was thereby invited to take note and yield to Moscow's demands.

The way in which Khrushchev instructs his own bloc on this change in the relationship of forces is not our affair. But we must make him understand that he is seriously mistaken if he believes that the free world is weak, and ready to submit to his blackmail.

Little Red Ridinghood

Once upon a time, Little Red Ridinghood decided to visit her grandmother on Cape Cod. She packed a basket full of goodies, then started off through the woods.

On the way she met the Wolf. "What have you got there, Little Red Ridinghood?" he asked.

"Baked beans, smoked scrod, clam chowder and a bottle of Haig & Haig, Mr. Wolf."

"Sounds delicious," he said. "You'd better give them all to me. Otherwise, I'll have to eat you up, and the basket, too!" And with that, he growled so ferociously that Little Red Ridinghood began to weep.

"Oh, please, Mr. Wolf," she cried. "Don't eat me! Can't we negotiate?"

"Negotiate?" he leered. "OK. Nobody can say I'm not a peace-loving Wolf." Then he reached into her basket and took the beans, the scrod and the Haig & Haig. "Clam chowder makes me sick," he said. *"You keep it."*

When Little Red Ridinghood got to her grandmother's cottage she told her what had happened. "He would have taken everything," she said, "but I *negotiated* with him. ... Look! I've still got the clam chowder."

To which her grandmother replied: "Shut up, stupid. I'm the Wolf." And with that, he buried her.

W. H. VON DREELE

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The Third World War

Southeast Asian Contradiction

JAMES BURNHAM

American policy in Southeast Asia is not easy to understand. What we seem to be trying to do in South Vietnam contradicts what we seem to be trying to do in Laos. Is the contradiction real? It may be: this would not be the first time that one element of our Cold War strategy was in direct opposition to another. Or perhaps the explanation is that in one country or both we are not doing what we seem to be trying to do.

Both Laos and South Vietnam are under Communist attack. Armed Communist units, called Pathet Lao in Laos and Viet Cong in South Vietnam, are in the field. Both Pathet Lao and Viet Cong are supplied and reinforced from without: from Communist North Vietnam, proximately, and also from the Soviet Union and Communist China.

In Laos the Pathet Lao already has control over more than half the country. In South Vietnam the Viet Cong operations are still of guerrilla type, but are stepping up rapidly. In both countries, land communications connect the local units with the external basis.

Stand and Retreat

Nothing appears in this strategic picture to motivate two fundamentally different policies toward these two neighbors. The minor differences become still more blurred when we enlarge the picture to include the strategy of the enemy. His objective is not obscure: control of the Southeast Asian peninsula. Peiping wants the food potential of the fertile paddies, the tin, oil and other resources. Both Peiping and Moscow want to extend their joint power to the Strait of Malacca, there to link up with the Indonesian archipelago, and thus gain strategic domination of the South Seas passage, and simultaneously threaten India, Australia and the West's forward defense line.

Thus there is only one strategic problem for the entire peninsula. Differences in relation to Laos and South Vietnam—or Thailand, Cambodia, Burma, Malaya, and let us add North Vietnam—can only be of tactics and timing.

Nevertheless, we seem to be following a hard strategy in South Vietnam and a soft strategy in Laos. In the one we seem determined to make a stand in the only serious sense—*i.e.*, backed by military power; in the other, we have renounced power for diplomacy. In Saigon, we back, or seem to back, an anti-Communist head of government; in Vientiane, we not only decline to back the anti-Communist, but compel him to give way to the demands of his neutralist and Communist rivals.

To take a fighting stand in South Vietnam presupposes that the enemy intends to take over, by whatever means, and that only counter-force will stop him. To seek a neutral Laos through a tripartite Popular Front presupposes that the enemy does *not* intend to take over, that he is willing to settle matters by negotiation. But if neutrality in Southeast Asia is desirable, and can be obtained by negotiation, why fight in Vietnam?

Is the appearance in Laos only a counterfeit, a camouflage? Did we conclude, not that we did not wish to make a firm stand in Laos, but that we could not? Was it then for merely local and particular, *i.e.*, tactical, reasons, that we felt we must give up Laos, must retreat from an indefensible battlefield to one more suitable—one having, among other things, a coast that permits us to exploit our command of the sea? If so, the negotiations about a Laotian Popular Front might be only a delaying maneuver to cover the retreat.

Possibly; one would, indeed, like to believe so. Such reasoning would indicate a sound general perspective, whether or not the tactical decision were correct. But most of the evidence—like the words of Averell Harriman and the President—suggests that the Laotian moves are to be taken at face value. The State Department and the dominant White House advisers apparently do believe that a neutral Laos can be stabilized under a Popular Front government; that the Communists will consent to this, will cease their efforts to gain unilateral power, and will hold to their undertakings. This interpretation is the more credible since the Laotian pattern is repeated, in strategic essentials, in so many other spots around the world.

Fighting or Butchery?

It is not the neutralist illusion and actual retreat in Laos that are anomalous, but the seeming stand in South Vietnam. This suggests that the stand, not the Laos negotiations, may be the counterfeit and cover. If we were serious about a stand in Vietnam, then in Laos we would not be wasting our energy on a silly Popular Front, but building an anti-Communist force that could combat the enemy *even if* he took over the Laotian government. If we were serious in South Vietnam, we would not confine our military (and military support) activities to South Vietnam itself. We would extend our operations to Laos, Cambodia, northeast Thailand and—very decidedly—to the enemy bases in North Vietnam, and in China too: so much is required on narrowly military grounds alone. But to act so, we would have to abandon certain of the current axioms of our world policy.

It is more likely, then, that the retreat in Laos, not the stand in Vietnam, is the solid half of the contradiction. If so, we may expect a gradual shift in our policy from the phase of supporting Diem in anti-Communist warfare to the phase of compelling Diem (or his successor) to accept a neutralist Vietnam under the usual Popular Front. Standard political preparations for that phase are well under way: witness Walter Lippmann's relevant columns and the growing critique of Diem's "personal dictatorship." On the military side, last week's attempted air force revolt against Diem recalls Captain Kong Le's 1960 putsch in Laos.

And if this is where our policy is heading, then the fighting in South Vietnam, in which Americans are beginning to die, is senseless butchery.

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Studying Ordered Freedom

Most American discussion of the problems of liberty is puerile. It is saddening to mark the difference in tone between the analysis of such matters at the time of the framing of our federal Constitution, and the superficial pretense of "science" in politics at most of our universities today. I have attended conferences at which well-reputed professors maintained that we may as well have complete centralization of power in Washington: this, they think, will be entirely consonant with personal freedom; for if you don't like the way you're treated, you can write to your congressman, who is responsive to the public will. Not only are such gentlemen and scholars theoretical illiterates, but they have ignored the terrible practical political lessons of this time of troubles.

Kirk

A New Anthology

So I hope that a new book, in English, may receive some serious attention in these United States. This is *Freedom and Serfdom, an Anthology of Western Thought,* edited by Dr. Albert Hunold, of the Swiss Institute of International Studies, in Zurich. If you want a copy, probably you will need to order from a dealer accustomed to getting foreign books; for it is published by D. Reidel Publishing Company, Dordrecht, Holland —a firm which carries on the old continuity of English printing in the Low Countries. (Also this firm recently published, in English, Professor Hans Barth's very important book *The Idea of Order,* which all admirers of Burke—of whom Barth is one —ought to possess.)

Well, Dr. Hunold, with his Institute lodged in a charming medieval house in Zurich, also was for many years the secretary of the Mt. Pelerin Society of economists and social thinkers—indeed, his labors kept the society vigorous. Dr. Hunold invites well-known scholars from either side of the Atlantic to lecture occasionally at his Institute, and has published these talks, in German, in four volumes. The present book, *Freedom and Serfdom,* is an English translation of the liveliest or most important of the lectures in the series.

The contributors are Carlo Antoni, Hans Barth, Hans Kohn, Wilhelm Roëpke, David McCord Wright, Russell Kirk, Friedrich Hayek, Theodor Litt, Michael Oakeshott, Alexander Rustow, Hannah Arendt, Werner Kagi, Helmut Schoeck, and Eric Voegelin—a predominance of Americans and Germans. Nearly all, if general labels must be applied, are thinkers of either a conservative or a European new-Liberal cast of opinion. And—excepting, of course, your servant's feeble contribution—all these lecture-essays are works of some intellectual power.

As Dr. Hunold writes in his preface:

> While in their own countries the totalitarian dictators suppress the emergence of public opinion in the most brutal manner, they shrink from no effort to influence in their own favor public opinion in our own Western world. This infiltration, of which many are quite unaware, is conducted through the medium of the newspapers, press agencies, universities, schools, churches, and trade unions. The network of subversion takes many and varied forms, and its ramifications reach deep into the institutions and organizations of democratic society. It can with justice be said that the progress made by Communism is attributable less to the convincing character of its doctrines than to the intellectual confusion which these disruptive forces have caused in the Western camp.

Dr. Eric Voegelin, in his contribution to the volume—entitled "On Readiness to Rational Discussion"—touches upon the ways in which the enemies of ordered freedom prevent rational discussion. These were the tactics of Socrates' adversaries, and they are the tactics of modern totalitarians. Dr. Voegelin distinguishes four categories of devices for confusing those who really would like to employ right reason: first, the sophist tricks of verbosity and appeals to authorities, taking up all the time so that the critic has no opportunity to object; second, "back-stair psychology," or attributing an opponent's convictions to his economic interest, his quirks of character, and the like; third, "classification," or labelling an opponent as something disagreeable to readers or auditors (Mr. Voegelin, in such circumstances, has been variously labelled as a Protestant, a Catholic, an anti-Semite, a typical Jew, a Liberal, a Fascist, a Nazi, a conservative, a Platonist, a neo-Augustinian, a Thomist, a Hegelian, an existentialist, a historical relativist, and an empirical skeptic); fourth, the neo-positivist tactic of denying the validity of any "value-judgments," so that everyone is left all at sea.

Of Great Value

The contributions to this volume, on the contrary, all are intent upon clarification and frank analysis. Professor Werner Kagi's "Federalism and Freedom" is a Swiss lesson that American centralizers ought to read, but won't. Professor Michael Oakeshott's essay "The Masses in Representative Democracy" is a close examination of the claims of individuality as against the "anti-individual." (Anything that Mr. Oakeshott puts on paper ought to be read with respectful attention; for though he is one of the principal political theorists of our time, it is next to impossible to persuade him to put anything into print.) Hans Barth's "The Religion of Totalitarianism" relates modern politics to theology.

Many of these contributors being almost unknown to American readers, I hope somehow this book can get read among us. It is worth more than all the fulminations of the Fund for the Republic rolled into one ritualistic-Liberal hornet's-nest.

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The Most Important Event of the Century?

A noted economist steps out of his field to discuss one year—1917—which he believes was decisive in shaping the paths we tread today

COLIN CLARK

In the natural sciences the Christian and the secularist may expect to study the same facts, perform similar researches and, with very few qualifications, reach similar conclusions. This may also be true, to a lesser degree, of some of the humane and social sciences: at any rate of those which deal with the more material aspects of human conduct. But it is emphatically not true of that branch of learning which coordinates all our knowledge of human affairs, namely, history. The secularist treats history as a series of events from which he may deduce a synthesis which is false, such as Marxism; or from which he may draw more limited and defensible conclusions. But in either case his conclusions are only in the natural order, not in the supernatural.

For Christians, however, many of the pivotal events of history are supernatural events, and the deeds of saints. The very system by which we record historical dates indicates the point on which the whole of history turns, a single supernatural event. Secularist historians, apparently without demur, accept the same system of dating.

Supernatural influences certainly run through the whole of history. Had it not been for the wisdom and sanctity of Augustine and Gregory the Great, civilization might never have recovered from the collapse of the Roman Empire. Fifteenth-century France, at her last gasp from persistent invasions and civil war, was restored to life by the visions and deeds of St. Joan of Arc, one of the most astonishing supernatural events in all human history, and quite incapable of a natural explanation.

We must not, however, think of such events as confined to distant centuries. There is a striking passage in the writings of Professor Toynbee (whose religious beliefs are certainly not Catholic) in which he discusses who were the greatest and most lasting figures in the history of the nineteenth century. Were they the great soldiers or statesmen of this time, Napoleon or Bismarck, Lincoln or Gladstone? They were not. The nineteenth-century figures who had the greatest and most lasting influence upon history, Professor Toynbee says, were four saints, St. Bernadette, St. Thérèse, the Curé of Ars and John Bosco.

On reflection, we see that he was probably right. France and Italy, in the nineteenth century, were the countries where the struggle between secularism and faith was at its most desperate; and through the prayers and labors of these saints the tide of battle was turned.

Future historians, writing on the century in which we are living, may likewise conclude that its most important events and personalities are not to be found in the wars, revolutions and intellectual upheavals through which we have passed. They may well decide that the most important event of the twentieth century occurred on May 13, 1917, at an obscure village in Portugal.

There seems to be, unfortunately, some uncertainty about all that was said at Fatima; but of the occurrence of the supernatural apparition, and of the main tenor of the words spoken, there seems to be no doubt.

There is a wise proverb which says that it is imprudent to attempt to justify the ways of God to man. Certainly we should not attempt to do so. We should recognize among other reasons the extreme imperfections and limitations of our own knowledge.

But, at the same time, as the events of the last forty years have unfolded, we can now see enough to make us begin to understand why the event should have taken place in the year 1917, which year did constitute a critical turning point in our history. We can now, very dimly, perceive some of the purposes which may have lain behind the revelation in Portugal.

An American naturally sees a significance in the year 1917 as the occasion when, for the first time in history, American forces went to fight in Europe. This was indeed an event of the utmost importance for the world, as well as for the United States. Perhaps Americans themselves are not fully seized of its importance. The British military historian, General Fuller, regards Wilson's Message to Congress calling for a declaration of war as a turning point in the history of the world, a

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point of no return. This date, he writes, marks the beginning of "total war."

There is a great deal of truth in this contention. A democracy in arms, fighting for a cause in which it really believes, can be more powerful and more terrible than any autocracy. "Total war," to be true, is a German phrase. But as the unhappy Speer, Hitler's principal organizer, said when being questioned by the Allied Commission in 1945—"The truth of the matter is that you fought a total war, and we did not."

In earlier days, war had been "the sport of princes," to use a contemporary proverb, a sort of game of chess on a larger scale. "I have lost a campaign; I will pay with a province," said the Emperor of Austria after his defeat by France in 1859. This was the authentic voice of the Old World.

These wars could be bloody and terrible. Men fought in them fiercely, believing it to be their duty. But they did not, as do present-day wars, involve a feeling of deep personal commitment on the part of virtually the whole people. In any case, the proportion of the population who were affected was small. Wars were fought in a more democratic spirit by the soldiers of Napoleon, and of the American Civil War. These wars proved in consequence longer, more costly and bloodier than previous wars.

World War I Negotiations

It is true that the entry of the United States into World War I in 1917 was not the first occasion of a great democratic power becoming involved in a world war. France and Britain, going to war in 1914, were democracies too, though not so fully as the United States, still containing considerable elements of oligarchy in their political systems, particularly in the conduct of their foreign relations. We do not yet know the full story of the events of this period, but it appears that some British and French political leaders, of the older and less democratic political tradition (particularly Asquith, the British Prime Minister) were thinking in 1916 that the World War had gone on long enough, that fearful losses had been incurred by both sides without any conclusion being reached, and that steps should be taken (secret preliminary meetings were apparently in fact held in Switzerland) to end the war by negotiation. Only in this way could they hope to preserve anything of the old Europe. (And who can say that they were wrong? The Kaiser was less of a menace than Hitler.)

Pope Benedict XV was also truly anxious to settle the war by negotiation at this time. Besides private diplomatic approaches, he prepared a public document suggesting terms of negotiation. None of the belligerent governments was sympathetic to the Papacy at that time.[1] But what finally obviated all chances of success was the fact that in the secret Treaty of London in 1915, Britain and France had secured a military alliance with the King of Italy, a militant secularist, by promising to block any proposal which would have allowed the Holy See to take any part in peace negotiations. The countries which signed this profane treaty suffered the consequences.

It would be interesting to know what part Wilson, after his re-election in November 1916, played in these negotiations; we may know some day. What we do know is that while Wilson was considering entering the war, there occurred in both Britain and France a revulsion against the idea of a negotiated peace, not by conservatives, but by popular democratic leaders, Lloyd George and Clemenceau, under the slogan "Fight to the finish!"

It was at this time that Americans, Britons and Frenchmen alike began to feel a sense of direct personal commitment in a war which they were fighting not, as in the case of some previous wars, merely out of obedience towards their rulers, but because they were convinced that they were fighting for right against wrong. Wilson's own intense conviction and austere Puritan eloquence dispelled all doubts. Indeed, it is only on such terms that a democracy will be really willing to engage in an all-out war.

General Fuller was right. It was in 1917 that the concept of "total war" was born; with incalculable consequences for the future of the human race.

The year 1917 marked the coming, not only of total war, but also of total revolution. But the one was responsible for the other. Had World War I been settled by negotiation at the beginning of 1917, as it could have been, the forces of revolution and of atheism in Russia could have been held in check. The Russians are a people capable of heroic endurance. Incompetently led, however, in a disastrous war, by 1917 they had had enough. The exhausted country received no sympathy from her allies —only demands for continuation of the war. Within a few months, sufficient numbers of Russians had adhered to Communism to enable it to seize power—and who knows when, and at what cost, it will be dislodged again?

It is not often that Nemesis in history works so quickly. Less than a year elapsed between the Allied decision to "fight to the finish," and the Russian Communist revolution.

The Recovery of Jerusalem

Total war, and a Communist revolution, should be enough to make any year outstanding in the annals of history. But there were still other events, perhaps equally significant, in this terrible year. Centuries ago, our ancestors fought desperately in the Crusades against the profanation of the Holy Land by Moslem rulers. But they were driven out; and for seven centuries no Christian could enter the Holy Land except by leave of the Turks. But it was in this same year of 1917 that, for the first time since the twelfth century, a Christian army of British and Australian soldiers entered Jerusalem. At that time it was customary for officers on parade to ride ahead of their troops on horseback. General Allenby, their commander, a devout man, thought it unfitting so to enter a city which his Master had entered on a donkey; and marched with his troops on foot.

In any previous age, the recovery of Jerusalem would have been the occasion of profound rejoicing throughout the Christian world. Not so in our sad modern times. The British Government had its plans ready. While some provision was

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1. It has recently been stated by a German Jesuit, Fr. Lieber, S. J., who was secretary to Cardinal Pacelli and in close touch with diplomatic affairs, that the German Secretary of State, Kuehlman, later expressed bitter regret that he had not taken advantage of the opportunity presented by Benedict XV's letter in 1917.

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Special Report

American Conservatives: An Appraisal

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

To a foreign lecturer who has been a voice raised in opposition to leftism for so many years, it is a gratifying experience to speak privately and publicly to young American conservatives, the "new radicals on the campus." The revolt against the Establishment, against the "unholy illiberal inquisition," had to come sooner or later.

Kuehnelt-Leddihn

In many a European country this reaction in the past frequently arose under the "restoration" banner, and only too often developed into an inverted leftism. In Europe there were conservatives who tolerated or even abetted Nazism, not realizing that to aid a nationalist or racist collectivism against an international collectivism merely meant choosing the road to Auschwitz and Dachau instead of to Katyn and Vorkuta.

The danger that American pseudo-Liberalism might be opposed by an American pseudo-conservatism was great. And it is to the credit of the conservative movement in America that it has impeded the rise of semi-fascist, semi-Nazi hate-groups, and channelled the natural indignation over the ineptitudes and misjudgments of the Establishment into a sane conservative river which flows in the direction of the great American tradition. I say this despite hysterical newspaper reports of recent months about the dangers of the growth of an "extreme right" in the United States.

I would not be happy if the conservative movement in the United States were merely to serve as a brake against little Hitlers. Much more is at stake—the chance for a rebirth of America. I was profoundly impressed with the caliber of the dedicated young conservative men and women on the campuses of the various universities and colleges I visited as well as by the ardor and conviction of people from different walks of life I met at other lectures. But is this newly awakened enthusiasm enough? If conservatism is the wave of the future in America, where will it finally lead the nation?

Needed: A Blueprint

Here I have to admit that only too often I had the impression that the conservative movement in your country lacks precise vision, a concrete program, a blueprint, a coherent "ideology." I know of the deep-seated dislike of "systems of thought" so frequently to be found among conservatives in Great Britain and the United States. But what is the alternative to logical and concrete thought? Can we substitute for it mere moods? Or noble feelings?

The latter, obviously, should not be despised, and pure rationality (some of our neo-Thomists take note!) can be quite deadening and often a deadly bore. In the long run moods are not enough to ensure the momentum of a movement. The weakness of the actual conservative movement in America, in my opinion, lies in its almost contrived vagueness and in its emphasis on negations. Its strength lies in criticism rather than in positive affirmations. To be anti-Communist and anti-leftist is truly not enough. Anti-intellectualism should not be the hallmark of a conservative. To win debates one has to reason rationally and logically: fine sentiments do not win verbal battles.

So many young (and old!) conservatives lack that most important weapon for victory through argument: *clear, universally accepted semantics*. Where are the conservatives who clearly distinguish between nationalism and patriotism, between tyranny and dictatorship, between monarchy and monocracy, between old and new Liberalism, between militarism and bellicism, among supra-nationalism, internationalism, and cosmopolitanism, or even between such basic terms as republicanism and democracy? For rational debate, these terms must have a universally-accepted connotation. There is no movement with any claim to universal truth which can achieve its ends on a local or national level. "United we stand, divided we fall" is a truism valid also for a world-wide conservative movement.

In Europe we frequently talk about "revolutionary conservatives," a term which does not sound paradoxical to us. But, whereas the Continental (and Catholic) nations are revolutionary, the English-speaking (and Protestant) nations are evolutionary.

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The Tiger Ragged

Students, students, turning Right
On all campuses in sight,
Which unlikely left-wing scheme
Made you swim against the stream?

In what dogma of the Left
Did you see the glaring cleft?
Did student riots make you laugh?
Did Eleanor drive you to YAF?

Did social studies dons adhere
To Herbert Matthews and Rovere?
When Jack drawled out that ornate pap,
Did you, then, sense a logic-gap?

What the reason? Where the blame?
Are they too numerous to name?
Why your anger? What dead air
Caused you to abjure, forswear?

When the profs called you extreme
And said you weren't on their team,
Were you alarmed? Had you not heard
Them label "smear" a dirty word?

Students, students, turning Right
On all campuses in sight,
We greet you with this happy song—
But what the hell took you so long?

WILLIAM F. GAVIN

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The Fury of the Legions

THOMAS MOLNAR

At last a French novel *not* written by, for, and about left-wing university graduates and their sexual-ideological traumas. Jean Lartéguy's *The Centurions* deals with that other France about which *New York Times* readers never hear except as "ultras" and "right-wing extremists." Yet, this France is real, as real as Lartéguy's characters, their problems, lives, and tragedies.

The "centurions" are the officers of the Indochina war, of the Suez campaign and Algeria, through whose tortured conscience the decline and the hopes of post-1945 France are reflected. Their drama is foreshadowed by a quotation from Marcus Flavinius, officer of the *Legio Augusta,* fighting in North Africa some 1800 years ago. The end of the quotation is this: "Make haste to reassure me, I beg you, and tell me that our fellow-citizens understand us, support us and protect us as we ourselves are protecting the glory of the Empire. If it should be otherwise, if we should have to leave our bleached bones on the desert sands in vain, then beware of the anger of the Legions!" It is this anger, this fury, that the novel explains, makes plausible.

It is a novel with a strange aroma, like that of a bunch of wild flowers. It is also a first novel, but the usual flaws of such an enterprise are abundantly compensated by youthfulness and energy. At times, this or that character may act not as an individual but as the type he is supposed to represent; or an episode takes place as it might in a morale-boosting story; but Lartéguy's fresh vigor and sure grasp do not allow these defects to vitiate the fabric of the narrative. In fact, through these primitive features this tale of men at war becomes an epic poem. "Primitive" here means original inspiration, fast pace, and the desire to present with a few bold strokes the tragedy, the self-questioning of a generation.

The Centurions, by Jean Lartéguy. Dutton, $4.95

I can testify to the existence of these officers, having sat through some of the court sessions in Paris where those accused of participation in last April's Algerian coup were tried. In that courtroom the last act of a drama was performed (although, I suspect, not its final dénouement). Lartéguy relates the previous acts: the war in the jungle of Southeast Asia, conducted from Paris with one eye on defeat; the realization by the officers that old military concepts were no longer adequate; awareness that wars in the century of ideologies must be fought also on the level of minds and loyalties, and that Communism is the religion of the coming world-antheap which must be fought to our last drop of blood, our last shred of Western consciousness.

It might seem that *The Centurions* is a *roman à thèse*, written not from the Sartre-Beauvoir point of view of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, but from that of Saint-Cyr. This is not so. Its ambition is, like that of every real novel, to make an era and the people who compose it psychologically credible. In this Lartéguy succeeds because he has a deep, and not only ideological, attachment to the men he describes. This attachment grew out of shared experiences (he served in Indochina, Korea, Palestine) and is marked by the discovery that the solidarity of men is not to be sought in Camusian despair and "absurdity," but in the defense of values incarnate in Christianity and the West.

Lartéguy knows how to humanize this conviction which is, if you wish, the "message" of his novel. In the process, it is true, the centurions may occasionally appear as knights in shining armor; but this is not because they are splendid, faultless individuals, but because their mission imposes on them discipline, loyalty, decisiveness. They move against the background of a world indifferent to its own extinction.

In this sense, *The Centurions* transcends the mid-century East-West struggle which is its framework; it becomes, like the novels of Juenger and Montherlant, a rediscovery of masculine brotherhood, all the more striking because we live in an effeminate world.

THERE is another lesson, also worth reflecting upon. The officers fall victim to the enemy in a more devastating manner than could be achieved by any indoctrination. They hate Communism, its soul-killing techniques, its slow-poison ideology. Yet the world they are pledged to defend provides them with no faith, no warmth; it elicits no loyalty. Home from the Vietminh prison camp, they meet only baseness, cynicism, stuffiness, indifference. They can hardly wait to re-enlist—in the parachute division for Algeria. In Indochina they thought they were sacrificed through simple inefficiency. They were full of contempt for their bungling government, and they cursed it; but after all, even senseless sacrifice is a soldier's destiny. After Suez and in Algeria they knew that the whole social body was sick, that France and the West were dying.

These colonels, captains, lieutenants are not philosophers. They are soldiers who want to know what enables the enemy to win when in so many respects he is inferior. And they hit upon the secret: the enemy has a cause in which he believes, while the country *they* defend has no more magnetic power left. It shrugs

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off the peoples it once conquered and protected; it has not even a tired smile for its own sons.

The solution then dawns on the centurions, a solution of despair. "Perhaps we could prevent the empire from collapsing by transforming ourselves into barbarians, by becoming males disgusted with all these females, by turning into Communists." Can it happen? The wise men of the West ought to reflect on the passage at the end of the book: Captain Glatigny recalls the voice of an old professor lecturing on the Roman Empire: "A large number of the centurions of the Proconsulate of Africa abandoned the legions and came back to Rome. They became the Praetorian Guards of the Caesars until the day they adopted the custom of nominating them and then electing them from among themselves. That was the beginning of the end of Rome. . . ."

The Rule of Law

HENRY HAZLITT

BRUNO Leoni is Professor of Legal Theory and the Theory of the State at the University of Pavia, Italy. *Freedom and the Law* is the outgrowth of a series of lectures for the Institute of Freedom and Competitive Enterprise delivered at Claremont Men's College in California in 1954.

Freedom and the Law, by Bruno Leoni. Van Nostrand, $6.00

His thesis, supported by comparisons of Greek, Roman, English, Continental and American legal systems, is that the current tendency to identify law exclusively with legislation and written statutes, to the neglect of common law, custom, tacit rules and spontaneous adjustment among individuals, is leading to the gradual destruction of individual freedom. He defines freedom as the absence of constraint, that is, of constraint by other people. He rejects the semantic confusions hidden in such slogans as "freedom from want," as well as the semantic effort to stretch the word constraint, as in the Wagner-Taft-Hartley Act, to imply that an employer "constrains" and "interferes with" union activities whenever, for example, he hires non-union employees in preference to union members.

It is liberty in the sense of absence of constraint, Leoni contends, that is threatened by the immense overgrowth of legislation. Legislation is treated today as "a quick, rational, and far-reaching remedy against every kind of evil or inconvenience." But its general effect is to increase the area of constraint. We must reject the resort to legislation "whenever it is used merely as a means of subjecting minorities in order to treat them as losers in the field." We should reject the legislative process also "whenever it is possible for the individuals involved to attain their objectives without depending upon the decision of a group and without actually constraining any other people to do what they would never do without constraint." In fact, a legal system centered on legislation, Leoni holds, resembles "a centralized economy in which all the relevant decisions are made by a handful of directors, whose knowledge of the whole situation is fatally limited and whose respect, if any, for the people's wishes is subject to that limitation."

As against the legislative system, Leoni insists that the best security for freedom lies in the age-old processes of the common law, in a system in which judges and jurists seek to *discover* the law rather than to enact or rewrite it. He makes a very penetrating analysis of what is meant by "the rule of law" and "the supremacy of the law." He agrees with F. A. Hayek on the need for the *generality*, the *equality*, and the *certainty* of the law. But he thinks these requirements call for further analysis. Wherever the law puts people into special categories, for example, the principle of "equality before the law" is retained in appearance but abandoned in practice. Thus we can have one law for landlords, one for tenants, one for employers, one for employees, etc., abridging the rights and freedom of landlords, employers, etc.

Leoni's analysis of the ambiguity in conceptions of the *certainty* of the law is probably his most important contribution. Even many of those who have insisted on the need for the certainty of the law, he points out, like Dicey and Hayek, seem to have conceived of this certainty as resting on the existence of definitely written formulas. Here certainty is to a great extent conceived as *precision*. But it is one thing to rely for certainty on the precise wording of a written rule. It is quite another thing to be able to feel confident, especially in this day when thousands of new statutes are pouring out every year from the legislative mills of modern democracies, that any law, valid today, will be valid tomorrow. The certainty of a written code is a *short-run* certainty. What the individual citizen desperately needs is the *long-run* certainty that he can make his plans without having the rules changed in the middle of the game.

This long-run certainty, Leoni maintains, was insured by the common law, by thousands of individual decisions of judges trying to "find" and apply that law without constantly trying to rewrite it. Under such a system, "freedom slowly broadens down from precedent to precedent."

WHILE I find Leoni's analysis most impressive, I am not entirely convinced by it. This is not because I do not fully share his misgivings regarding what our legislative mills will eventually do to our liberties. But does the principal fault lie, as he implies, with the legislative *process* as opposed to the common law and judicial *process*, or does it not lie rather in the changed concept of what law itself ought to do? It seems to me that much can be gained, as compared with what is likely to be lost, by reducing the principles of common law to explicit and precise written form. For this can protect the citizen from an arbitrary or capricious decision of an individual judge.

Much, in fact, of what Leoni writes implies that he is really more con-

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cerned with the nature, limits, and principles of the law than with its method of formation. His frequent praise of the principle of the "golden rule" in its negative form—"Do not do unto others what you would not wish others to do unto you"—and his contention that this principle is ignored in more and more modern legislation, indicates that he himself is at least as much concerned with the *substance* of the law as with its *source*.

But if there is a penumbra of such unsettled questions around Leoni's theme, it is still deeply worth pondering. He has pushed into new territory. And, I may add, his book is written with simplicity, lucidity, and aptness of illustration.

Mirror, Mirror, on the Wall...

VINCENT MILLER

LIKE Vance Packard, Daniel Boorstin has discovered that wherever one turns nowadays—to politics, or television, or journalism—chaps in Brooks Brothers suits are working the oracle. In *The Image: or What Happened to the American Dream,* he looks back nostalgically to a more genuinely religious age when we had heroes not celebrities, ideals not images, dreams not illusions: the age before we ate the apple of knowledge (technological) and learned how to create artifacts and artifices which please us so much more than reality that we complain of Van Gogh paintings not measuring up to Van Gogh prints, and try to solve our foreign problems by projecting the right image instead of taking the right action.

The Image: or What Happened to the American Dream, by Daniel J. Boorstin. Atheneum, $5.00

Unlike Vance Packard, however—whom he rather thinks a slick sin-huntin' evangelist who has put up his tent among the sociologists (no argument there)—Mr. Boorstin believes that we in America must stop looking for witches and devils and realize that the boys in the grey flannel suits are really good guys who wouldn't traffic in recorded thunder and contrived miracles if we ourselves didn't insist upon preferring "pseudo-events" to "reality." His solution: to update Walter Lippmann's *Public Opinion* (1922) and do Vance Packard in: if technology has failed to solve our problems, better consumer education may.

Now what anyone replies to Vance Packard is a pseudo-event if ever there was one, and Mr. Boorstin's attempt to raise the level of reading and discussion in a few thousand pseudo-sociology courses wouldn't merit attention if it weren't that his book is so typical a pseudo-analysis of a pseudo-problem. What queers his argument—as it queers that of most of his positivist and pragmatist peers—is his snobbery and his failure to realize that no one, but no one, "faces reality" quite as simply and directly as he thinks.

Mr. Boorstin can't abide people who stand by the rim of the Grand Canyon looking at kodachrome views of the scene while their daughters take their pictures. That Americans do such things seems to him to epiphanize a country whose preference for contrived images has led to its "inability to accept, or even to recognize, reality." But what in the name of heaven, one might ask, does he make of people who prefer a Cézanne painting to Mont Sainte-Victoire, or James Joyce's *Ulysses* to living in Dublin, or—as he seems to—Mr. Arthur Schlesinger Jr.'s *The Age of Roosevelt* to the terrifying reality of the canyon itself? The "pseudo-events" *he* cites are no more contrived and no more dangerous *sui generis*. Indeed, since meaning doesn't exist on the pragmatic surface (requiring, as it does, a human intuition), our understanding of it has to be expressed in some form of human artifice. Lecturing the people (*i.e.*, those less sophisticated than oneself) on *their* preferences merely distracts attention from one's own.

Precisely because he thinks the problem is other people's images, Mr. Boorstin's book is a guided tour through several of the pseudo-realities which so often seem to serve the American intelligentsia in lieu of country. When, for instance, he thinks of America, a pseudo-image of the flatulent stupidity of "the typical American" (whom he itches to educate) is always in the background; when he thinks of our society, it is an oversimplified pseudo-image of a "democracy" for whose plight that "average American" is responsible; and when he thinks of "reality," he thinks of getting rid of the kind of maps of it less sophisticated people like and he doesn't, and calling the process—in the kindly, firm and fatherly tones I thought patented by John Kenneth Galbraith—"disillusioning ourselves."

IN HIS neatly positivistic world, he and his peer-group are free from blame: national failures are due either to the perverse taste of the American people or to the failure of their "educators." Actually, as John Adams must have instructed him, a country is made up of the one, the few, *and* the many: each sees through a glass darkly, and the few always have had and always will have a good chance of cozening their brethren, and will take it, education be hanged. They get smarter together. And since, in all realms and on all levels, human images will in the nature of things both reflect and fail to reflect the reality which transcends them, failure is a matter of degree and not to be blamed on the people, *their* tastes and *their* images. The average American is doing all right with his images, and running the huckster quite a race for it. Mat Dillon is perhaps as silly an artifact as Hoot Gibson, but the grasp of reality travestied in the first is no doubt greater; and the manipulation of "reality" through which we were as a nation bamboozled into our first war with Cuba was child's play compared with that required to engineer us out of our second.

Getting back to God and the good old days we'd like to see again, one prefers St. Peter, who—unlike Mr. Boorstin—went further than others in his little group and was rewarded by being brought face to face, not with the inadequacy of other people's images, but with his own failure to grasp what kind of consumer educa-

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tion was being instituted, and with the order of agonizing responsibility which therefore devolved upon him. But then Peter was a fisherman, not a Harvard product; and he wasn't selected by a foundation. Different image altogether. Whatever happened to it?

Genesis 2:7 and the New Zoology

GUY DAVENPORT

ROBERT ARDREY'S *African Genesis* is a frankly personal record of the impact of "the new enlightenment" in zoology upon the author, who dropped his work at hand and went to Africa to talk with the obscure, outlaw theorists who for the past thirty years have been preparing a revolution in the natural sciences. Behind this surprising book stands the engaging spirit of Eugène Marais, to whose memory the book is dedicated. The hopeless neglect and sabotage which have obfuscated Marais proved contagious; hence the bandit flavor of Mr. Ardrey's investigation.

African Genesis: A Personal Investigation into the Animal Origins and Nature of Man, by Robert Ardrey. Atheneum, $6.95

Marais, "a poet, an advocate, a journalist, a partially trained doctor, a morphine addict, and a suicide" was also a brilliant prose stylist whose scientific writing is eloquent for sharp detail alone, completely free of the shellacking which glosses too much popularized science. (Ardrey's own style is plastic, agile, good to read, though at the end of the book a certain imbalance occurs and the tone becomes melodramatic.) "The purest genius that the natural sciences have seen in this century," Marais was an English-speaking Boer who, out of bitter perversity, which he gaily called "sentimental reasons," wrote in Afrikaans. He managed to send out two brilliant studies from his misanthropic hermitage (he gave up human society for that of baboons in 1903) before he took his life in despair.

The Soul of the White Ant—which Maurice Maeterlinck plagiarized for his *Life of the White Ant*—and *My Friends the Baboons* are placed in scientific context for the first time in Mr. Ardrey's book. Marais was to have published a study of the subject which is implied at every tangent in "the new enlightenment" and which Mr. Ardrey has taken as the theme of this long, discursive essay: the evolution of the human soul.

What man inherited from his evolutionary past was the thoroughly nasty disposition of a killer ape, a weapon-bearing creature whose hominid descendants Raymond Dart, head of the Department of Anatomy at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, discovered in South Africa thirty years ago. This discovery was later confirmed by Robert Broom, who joined the search in his seventieth year and found the fossils of the first adult *Australopithecus africanus,* that being the name of the almost-man whose ambitions as a killer, so Mr. Ardrey contends, are still reflected in our genes. When, this summer, Dr. L.S.B. Leakey, curator of the Coryndon Museum in Nairobi and formidable skeptic challenging Dart's and Broom's discoveries, announced the finding by his wife of yet another Adam *(misnamed Zinjanthropus),* he had actually, as he now concedes, come upon *Australopithecus* all over again.

Kenneth Oakley, exposer of the Piltdown fraud, is not as sanguine as his African colleagues about these discoveries, nor is orthodox zoology. Yet the evidence has strength; when we find a trout in the milk, as Sherlock Holmes observed (quoting Thoreau), the game is on.

The Cain whom the South African zoologists are getting into focus had, like all animals, and, as Mr. Ardrey argues, like us, three controlling passions: a sense of territorial rights, a sense of status within a hierarchy,

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and consequently a sense of group organization. In short, man is instinctively a creature of private property and local government. A rich documentation is put forward to support this theory. Theory it is, too, and it won't help to say that Mr. Ardrey embraces the theory. He hugs it and jubilates.

Much of the joy is in the possibilities of dispelling an "institutionalized, universalized, and sanctified" ignorance of man's nature, the Romantic Fallacy of Vico, Rousseau, Marx, Darwin and Freud. The fallacy is that man is born innocent and without program, a sweet nullity whose insecurity and ignorant awe will hatch God, demons, taboos (Vico); who will be spoiled and desensitized by civilization (Rousseau); who will enslave or be enslaved (Marx); perish or survive according to his lights (Darwin);

or die of frustration, hamstrung by the denied satisfaction of unusual desires (Freud). Man is born, instead, with solid primate instincts toward having a territory of his own, and a clearly defined place in an order.

"Man is a companionable animal," Dante observed. Aristotle said: "A political animal." Freud's family animal, obsessed with father and mother, Ardrey challenges, and invites us to consider the howler monkeys who have found a way to contain the primate's constant anarchical impulse, sex; to consider the status of elderly baboons and apes (a place of honor among their sons); and to consider the true nature of sexual behavior among free animals (admirable decency). Caged animals are indecent for obvious reasons.

Among the thousand or so nailed-down facts in *African Genesis* there are a dozen ideas which at first seem to act like ping-pong balls in an orbiting nose-cone. Given congenial propensities, one can catch a ricocheting one here and there. If, for instance, one knows Eliot Howard's *Territory in Birdlife* (richly expanded by Ardrey with parallels among other animals) or Fox's *Animal Personality,* the phenomenon of male animals fighting for a mate snaps into another perspective. They are fighting for territorial rights, a kingdom, a prerequisite to mating which at the moment has nothing to do with winning a mate, over whom males won't fight anyway. The implications of this side of our nature are illuminating. It clarifies why so many romantic novels are about homesteads (look at the estate names in the titles of Victorian novels), why nostalgia is so potent an emotion, why juvenile gangs in New York fight over turfs. It may explain the choice of occupation of the first ecologist, Henry David Thoreau: surveying.

Mr. Ardrey is principally interested to place man correctly within the scheme of nature. We are, he says, a dangerous and unlovely animal in contrast to romantic notions of our innocent nobility. We have so misunderstood our nature since the eighteenth century that we have blamed civilization, our only triumph, for wars, crimes, and an imagined loss of innocence. But open war is man's instinctive propensity; civilization is our controlled good behavior, our achieved privilege, but by no means our normal state.

As a challenge to romantic evasions of man's nature Mr. Ardrey's book, wrong as it probably is in this matter or that, is an exhilarating blast from the outlaw right wing of zoology. It argues a kind of zoological original sin; it fumigates some musty areas of sociology and anthropology; and detonates some nicely placed charges with, ones hopes, gratifying thunder.

There are lapses and blindnesses: when Mr. Ardrey goes for the anthropologists and their myth of golden boughs and the dispatching of senile kings, he might have known that Evans-Pritchard shelved that years ago, there being not a shred of evidence for ritual regicide. When attacking Freud for not mentioning weapons in *Civilization and its Discontents* and when clicking over the archeologists' euphemism "tools" for "weapons," he might have noted that Frobenius began his career with a 700-page anthropological study of weapons. Half a million years back gets a bit dim for bringing up culture, but Mr. Ardrey might have warmed his chilly view of man's progress by discussing his artistic nature. We are deepening our knowledge of man the artist, and sobering as it is to speculate on man the organized predator and cantankerous homebody, his prehistoric drawings on the rocks of Bulawayo, Altamira and Tassili are part of his history. One would like to think that the adept use of the stone axe was prelude to chisel and paintbrush.

One further thing, for what it's worth: Mr. Ardrey is one of the best-natured writers to come along in quite a while. This kind of book got written in the nineteenth century by men with, apparently, chronic indigestion. It is a pleasure to report a certain bounce in the new zoology.

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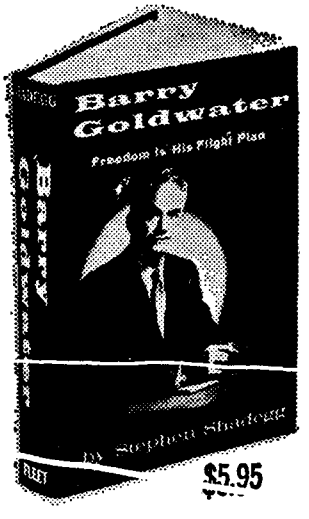

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Theater

Rome and A Fella

NOEL E. PARMENTEL JR.

THE FIRST TIME I saw Gore Vidal, almost nobody had ever heard of him. I was in college at Tulane and had been invited to one of those New Orleans literary parties. Vidal was, at that time, a genuinely young man, highly affected, and effete even by that soirée's protocol. He was talking to a girl I knew named Marilyn. I had a kind of crush on her at the time (she later forsook me to marry an Iraqi cabinet minister and help bridge that great gap between East and West) and asked her what she thought of Vidal. "He's an unmitigated ass," replied Marilyn.

The last time I saw Gore Vidal, almost everybody had heard of him. I was out of college, in New York, and had been invited to one of those East Side literary parties. He had by this time evolved into what Angus Wilson calls "a rather old young man." He had long since shaken the dust of New Orleans *Kulturfest* from his pumps, and was far more likely to be seen escorting Jacqueline Kennedy to the theater than arguing with the likes of Marilyn. In the interval he had penned eight novels, a book of short stories, God knows how many magazine pieces, seven movies, about forty television scripts and two smash hit plays. He had also run for Congress, and his new play, *Romulus,* was about to open on Broadway. But in spite of all this busyness, after listening in for a few minutes, I couldn't help thinking that years ago, way down yonder, Marilyn (that Iraqi or no) got the picture. In spite of Marilyn's camera eye, however, Gore Vidal had, in *Visit to A Small Planet* and *The Best Man,* brought two first-rate entertainments to the stage, and I looked forward to *Romulus.* But, as the late Yussel the Muscle said, "I shoulda stood in bed."

Romulus is a limp-wristed, high-flying, ersatz-Shavian rendition of the last days of Rome. It was originally written by the brilliant Swiss playwright-novelist Friedrich Duerrenmatt (who was certainly off his feed for this clinker) and adapted for Broadway by Vidal, who gets most of the credit, if you can call it that. What passes for action here begins with a Roman prefect dashing in with the news that the Goths under Ottaker the Butcher have broken the Roman defense at Pavia and are marching on the capital. From this moment on, Romulus, the last of the great line of Caesars, diddles, twiddles and riddles while Rome burns. The treasury is *gebust,* the army is shot; it looks like curtains, with all sorts of aristocratic Roman physiognomies decorating Gothic pikes.

There is trouble at home as well. Empress Julia, really the last of the royal line (Romulus being an egg-headish plebe who married up), is a regular *yenteh.* Then there is Rea, their daughter, whose sweetie is supposed either killed or—worse—captured by the Vandals. And sniffing about the palace after her is a real D.O.M. of an industrialist named Otto Rupf, who has a pocketful of sesterces. To make matters worse there is Zeno, the Emperor of the East, who cut out of Constantinople just in time. Although Romulus cracks jokes valiantly throughout the whole dreary affair (with references to Gibbon, Plutarch, Suetonius and Elston) he is really a chicken farmer at heart. One feels he is relieved to see the advance party of Goths, who turn out to be pretty swell guys after all. Ottaker is also a Modern, has read all Romulus' books on the New Deal, and is an old poultry fancier himself. And the Princess' gentleman friend shows up alive and, I believe, unaltered.

IN ADDITION to the puny story line of *Romulus,* the acting is not up to snuff. Cathleen Nesbitt as Julia was not quite on target. She was too shrill and shrewish to be shrewd, too nice to nag. She comes across neither as Kate nor Cassandra. I was also diappointed in Howard DaSilva's Ottaker. DaSilva is one of the most talented performers on the American stage, but the role simply did not

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suit him. Vidal's Ottaker called for someone like the late Laird Cregar. Roles like this are a waste of DaSilva's time and talent. But worst of all to me was Cyril Ritchard's mincing, lisping Romulus. His period would seem to be middle Athenian rather than late Roman. He also showed a regrettable tendency to slip into other plays and periods. Now he was back in *The Pleasure of His Company*; here he was Adlai Stevenson; there Hugh Downs.

The staging, which was arch and fey, and the sets and costumes, which were flossy and chi-chi, matched the material, the dialogue and the cavorting of most of the cast. All in all, *Romulus* adds up to (with the possible exception of *Sail Away*) the most offensive instance of "inside" theater, which such diverse types as the late Ernie Kovacs and *New York Times* drama critic Howard Taubman have chosen to call "effeminate," and which the boys in Lindy's are calling *"la nouvelle fague."*

The author of the play is far more interesting than *Romulus,* which is boring where it is not offensive. Gore Vidal's concern with this type of theater would seem to follow from some of the things he has concerned himself with in the past. Although the critics have generally ridiculed the Vidal literary product, he is far from being a jejune hack. He has certainly traveled an odd road. During his early career as a "serious" novelist, he evinced an interest in homosexuality equalled only by that of Max Lerner or of the editors of *One*. Many of his novels and stories are clinical, apparently informed commentaries on the problem. In spite of all this high purpose, critic William Peden was once moved to note that the Vidal output constituted "a rather dreary landmark in the literature of homosexuality."

Always the seeker after truth, Vidal lived for a time in the ruins of a sixteenth-century monastery in Guatemala, where he gathered material for an anti-United Fruit Company novel—positively, as a local wag observed, the *only* anti-fruit novel Vidal ever wrote. At another point he made a pilgrimage to the bedside of André Gide. It is reported that the great French writer liked Vidal and gave him an inscribed first edition of his controversial *Corydon*. Vidal carried his almost obsession with homosexuality into the movies. Although he is quite a proficient script writer, he once wrote a scenario about Billy the Kid, acted by a bewildered Paul Newman, in which the legendary outlaw appeared as a misunderstood homosexual. It was only natural that Sam Spiegel should call on Vidal's specialist skills for Tennessee Williams' *Suddenly Last Summer*.

VIDAL has become deservedly affluent and now seeks his muse in a beautiful old Greek Revival temple, once inhabited by John Jay Chapman (whose shade must never cease to wonder and ponder over the ironies of fate). But success has not spoiled Gore Vidal and he still possesses those virtues that made such an impression at that New Orleans cocktail party. How did he happen to write *The Best Man*? "I got to thinking about Henry James." On literature: "There is nothing that can't be said in 70,000 words" (Henry James, please note). On Our Time: "This century is a disgrace and any writer who can look upon it with approval should be confined to soap operas."

But in spite of this asinine, fatuous, callow nonsense, and of his pomposity, pretentiousness, boorishness, Gore Vidal can still pen a mean script. *Romulus* was a misfortune. Its box office success, despite a critical pasting, may be explained by the loyalty of its "special" audience. A wild little creature sat down the row from me, and his partner had to virtually pull him down off the ceiling so they could get backstage to "say congrats" to somebody. The wild one screamed, "But it's a perfect *camp*!" May Gore Vidal quickly mitigate and "de-*camp*" and get back to political conventions and small planets.

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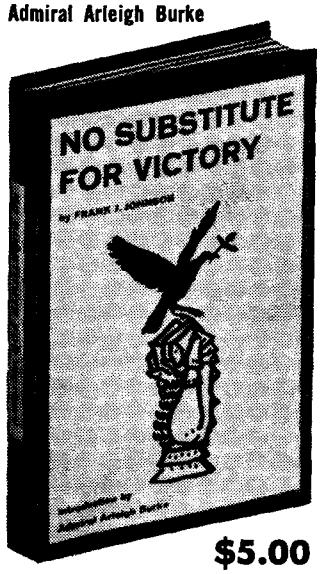

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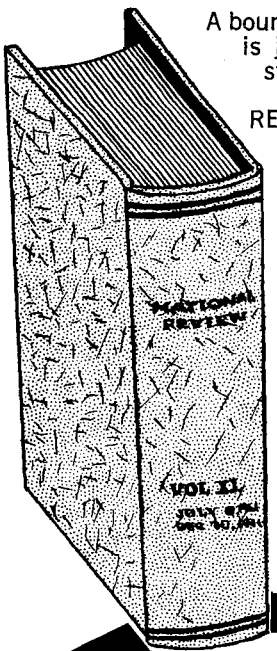

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BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE PRESS IN JAPAN TODAY—A CASE STUDY, by Edward P. Whittemore (University of South Carolina Press, $2.50). With a combined daily circulation of 19 million out of a total of 37 million newspapers sold throughout the country, Japan's Tokyo-based "Big Three" national papers (the *Ashai*, the *Mainichi* and the *Yomiuri*) enjoy an influence perhaps unrivalled anywhere in the Free World. Yet during the wild leftist rioting against the U.S.-Japanese defense treaty in May and June, 1960, the three were so offended by then-Premier Kishi's ramrodding of Parliament and neglect of the traditional Japanese face-saving gambit of "adjusting" differences, that they attacked him more vigorously than the chanting snake-dancers who had caused Japan's deepest crisis of democratic procedure. As this interesting monograph (the first publication of the University of South Carolina's Institute of International Studies) makes abundantly clear, democracy in Japan is still a heated question of definitions. At the height of the rioting, for example, a young girl complained tearfully to a Western newsman that Kishi, in barring demonstrators from the Diet building, had been grossly "undemocratic." Asked what she and her comrades would do if admitted, she replied brightly: "Why, we'd burn it down, of course."

R. WHALEN

MERCHANTS, PILGRIMS AND HIGHWAYMEN, by Hermann Schreiber (Putnam, $4.50). Having scored a popular success with his *Vanished Cities*, Hermann Schreiber now tries his hand at the general subject of roads: the prehistoric amber roads across Europe; the legendary silk routes that linked China with Samarkand; the famous *Viae* that led to Rome; the remarkable Inca roads; and several more. It is an interesting idea, and enables him to cram many a choice historical tidbit into this wide-ranging volume. But one is tempted to ask where this vogue for oddly-specialized sorties into cultural history will end. Why not a tome on *Ear Lobes Through the Ages*? If John Dewey's well-adjusted victims want to flesh out their education with a little concrete information on their race's past, they would be better advised to read Wells' comprehensive *Outline of History*—or even dip into Will Durant's *Story of Civilization*. (Not, I hasten to add, that either of these is a satisfactory substitute for true learning.) By concentrating on roads, Herr Schreiber's readers are likely to wind up with a wildly distorted idea of wha' hoppen, and why.

W. A. RUSHER

JEAN-PAUL SARTRE: PHILOSOPHER WITHOUT FAITH, by René Marill-Albérès (Philosophical Library, $4.75). This is the clearest account I know of the ideas of the French atheistic existentialist, Jean-Paul Sartre. Professor Albérès shows the development of Sartre's existentialism in his literary works. Until about 1943 this existentialism was non-political. It is expressed by the hero, Roquentin, of his novel *Nausea* (1938). Disengaged from moral standards and from the society in which he lives, Roquentin views the world with "freedom" and "lucidity." He finds ordinary life unjustified and is filled with "nausea" at his awareness of his own existence. This earlier non-political existentialism prepared the ground for his later political existentialism. Until 1943 he was pulling up the roots of Western culture and breaking up clumps of custom. (Plow, then plant.) From the early forties he has publicly expressed his Communist allegiance and since 1946 has been a strictly political writer. As such, Sartre has propagated his own version of Marxism and become the leader of the "existential Communists" in the West. Rejecting Western civilization as false, Sartre leads his youthful followers through "lucidity" to "commitment to human solidarity" (Communism). His readers are to transcend their "freedom" in "responsibility to the future" (Communism). In short, Sartre is the voguish Communist leader of the younger generation.

S. A. EMERY

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To the Editor

Robert Welch

With "The Question of Robert Welch" [Feb. 13], you have once again given a voice to the conscience of conservatism. As always the voice is clear and repudiates the easy downhill path of expediency (that path is so crowded with Liberals these days). Now we shall eagerly await a Liberal definition of Left and far Left.

Pacific Palisades, Cal. RONALD REAGAN

Although I sometimes agree with Mr. Welch and believe some of the Birch letter-writing campaigns have been most effective, this does not excuse the untruths and poorly formulated statements he has issued. These have given the other side valuable ammunition with which to try to discredit the entire anti-Communist and conservative movement.

The lot of Freedom Fighters today is indeed a trying one. But we must make every effort to be precise and accurate, and describe things as they are, without embellishment. Effective anti-Communist education and action is effective precisely because it is based on the truth.

ANTHONY T. BOUSCAREN
Professor of Political Science
Syracuse, N.Y. Le Moyne College

Face it, a John Birch Society member who reads *American Opinion* and NATIONAL REVIEW and still wishes to have Robert Welch direct the Society is an inexplicable phenomenon —to you. I write to assure you that such a critter will continue to exist and to make this plea—LAY OFF! Having the utmost regard for your fairness, scholarship and thoroughness, I hope you have covered the subject to your satisfaction and can now devote above-mentioned talents to our common problems—Fabians and Communists, to name just two.

My astonishment has mellowed somewhat since the first reading, but my thoughts still run like this: 1) You are obviously not members of the John Birch Society. 2) You do not seem to feel that the *work* of the members is harmful—maybe even constructive at times. 3) You yourselves are not being adversely affected. 4) So why not mind your own business—which business could be starting a Buckley-Kirk Save Us All!

Saratoga, Cal. MRS. PAUL H. DOLAN

Thank you for your excellent editorial on the Robert Welch enigma. I have only recently espoused conservatism and have been confronted many times since with the charge that I, too, was an extremist. May I suggest that you reprint your editorial in pamphlet form so that I may let others see that Welch and conservatism are not synonymous.

Wakefield, Mass. JOHN F. MCMANUS

HUAC: A New Look

Wm. F. Buckley's lucid account of the pros and cons of HUAC [Jan. 16] was by far the best thing he has done in a long time. I have a tough time convincing my Liberal friends that Buckley is capable of more than his obvious mastery of the debater's rapier and Eleanor-baiting. This cool and sane look into an admittedly emotional issue was done with all the old skill, but, gladly, he displayed his sword only as a teacher uses a pointer. Good show.

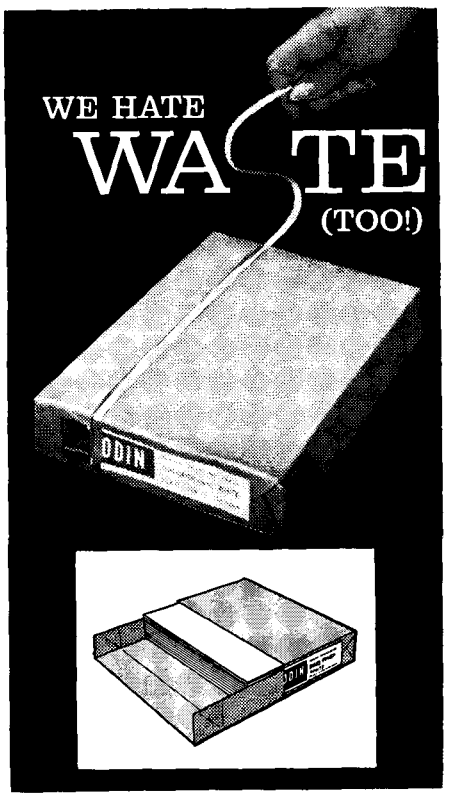
One question: Buckley remarked that "a reading of the relevant works of Koestler, Camus, Burnham, Chambers, Sperber, Orwell, Malraux, Conrad" will help the student to arrive at "something like a true understanding of the problem," "the most vital problem of our time." 1) Who is "Sperber"? *Spender?* 2) Is "Conrad" *Joseph* Conrad? If so, how did he help us to understand the "most vital problem," which I assume is Communism. 3) Which of the books of Camus is relevant here?

Roslyn, Pa. WILLIAM F. GAVIN

1) Manès Sperber, author of The Burned Bramble. *2) See Joseph Conrad's* Under Western Eyes. *3)* The Plague *and* Myth of Sisyphus. —ED.

Mr. Wieland's Record

My commendation to NATIONAL REVIEW for its references [Feb. 13] to the inexplicable defense of William Wieland by President Kennedy at his press conference. It is understandable, perhaps, that the State Depart-



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ment should attempt to suppress information on William Wieland, but in view of Wieland's past activities while in positions of power in State's hierarchy, President Kennedy's violent acceptance of Wieland defies comprehension. There seems no question now that the State Department will take any measures to conceal Wieland's record from the American people, as well as his pro-Castro activities, for according to testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee this was the official that the U.S. Air Attaché from our Mexican Embassy told to his face: "You [Wieland] are either stupid or Communist."

I intend to carry this conspiracy of concealment to the Maryland voters in my campaign this year.

JAMES P. GLEASON
Republican Candidate for U.S. Senate
Silver Spring, Md.

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Not having magazine
on which to vent our spleen
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But most of all, please send
your publications, friend.

Bonita, Cal. D. S. OESTERLE

We do sometimes hear from our subscribers regarding their various woes;
But heretofore their communications have always been in prose.
I imply that the problem of composing a poetical reply
Probably contributed to the wholly unnecessary and unfortunate del'y. . . .

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Korean Junta

Suggest you correct statement [Feb. 13] which reads: "Syngman Rhee was overthrown by a military junta. . . ." Rhee was ousted by a student uprising. The military junta ousted the John M. Chang administration which succeeded Rhee.

Pacific Palisades, Cal. O. H. P. KING

Mrs. Bridges' Candidacy

Your issue of Jan. 30 states: "Senator Barry Goldwater, who, as head of the Senate GOP campaign committee, usually keeps out of primary fights outside of Arizona, has endorsed Mrs. Bridges." This statement is in complete error and could cause Senator Goldwater considerable embarrassment.

The truth is that Senator Goldwater sent a letter to William Loeb of the *Manchester Union Leader* in reply to an inquiry by Mr. Loeb for his opinion of Governor Powell's appointment of Maurice Murphy to the Bridges Senate seat. In this letter, which was not intended for publication, Senator Goldwater stated, "I have no question but what the appointee is a highly capable man of the

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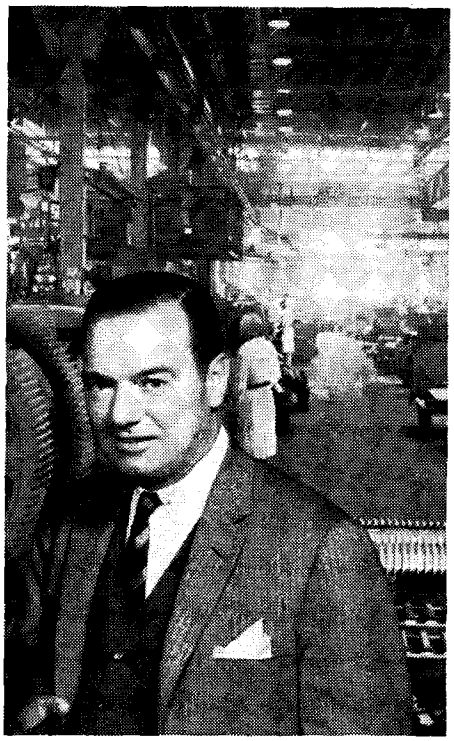

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highest character, but certainly we expected, as a matter of loyalty and respect, that Doloris [Bridges] would receive the appointment." This letter was dated Dec. 16, 1961 and was printed in the *Union Leader* on Jan. 1, 1962. As Mrs. Bridges announced her candidacy on Jan. 10 and the Goldwater letter says nothing about an endorsement, it is obvious no endorsement was made.

CHARLES W. GARNACHE, Chairman
Americans for Conservative Action
Laconia, N.H.

Sorry. Our statement came from the newspaper wire service stories, which said — erroneously, it appears — that Senator Goldwater had endorsed Mrs. Bridges. —ED.

The New Dictionary

I am glad to observe in reading "Madness in Their Method" [Feb. 13] that the practice of satire is not neglected in your pages. As every student of literature knows, satire thrives on distortion, half truths, irony, arrogance, and wit compounded so inextricably that the butt only makes himself look more foolish yet if he dares to say it's neither fair nor true. Mr. Wills does pretty well although he may be a little short on the wit that turns practice into art. . . .

We are glad to find that Mr. Wills scorns the Third Edition for coming down "four square, for-by-and-of The People"— for we are concerned with the usage of millions of educated English-speaking people—but we write it as Lincoln ordered it, "of-by-and-for."

P. B. GOVE
Editor in Chief
G. and C. Merriam Co.
Springfield, Mass.

Would you kindly advise Garry Wills ("Madness in Their Method") that if by "four square" he means "loud and clear," the correct phrase is "five square."

PATRICK R. MULLALLY, D.D.S.
La Canada, Cal.

See This Issue

Delighted to see Noel E. Parmentel Jr. return to the scene with his delightfully shrewd, original piece about *The Apple* [Jan. 30]. How I have missed him! Whoever edited the recent anthology of NATIONAL REVIEW was outrageous in not including any of Parmentel's pieces.

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P.S. On the strength of Parmentel's brilliant review, I went to see *The Apple*. I didn't like it at all.

New York City MELLON PEIRCE

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Bible Revision: Don't pluck out the
eye that
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Just search for a modus vivendi.

Flemington, N.J. ELIZABETH MANNING

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(Continued from p. 166)

made for the custody of the Holy Places, its main object was a secular and political one, the provision of a "National Home" for the Jews. The "National Home" inevitably grew, as many foresaw, into the independent State of Israel, already the cause of many "wars and rumors of wars," and which may yet precipitate a world war (a possibility which some link with the name Armageddon). But the seed of all this was sown, too, in 1917.[2]

The British Foreign Secretary who established Israel in its original form, Lord Balfour, was characteristic of his time. He was no vulgar atheist or secularist, but a Christian, as he described himself, "harassed by philosophic doubts."

Britain at that time was still the most influential country in the world, and we should examine the minds of British statesmen. The central doctrine of British Common Law, which American law shared to the full, was that it was based upon natural law and the Christian religion. But it was in 1917 that Balfour's colleague, Lord Buckmaster, the Lord Chancellor, on whom fell the chief responsibility for the administration of this law, declared that the Christian religion was no longer part of the law of England; and none has since gainsaid him.

Toward India's Independence

The loss by the British of their ancient convictions had another side, which Americans may find more attractive. India, in 1917, was still sunk in the slumber of centuries. Gandhi had not even entered politics. The administration of the country was still mainly in the hands of British officials. Few Indians took any part in their country's government except in routine duties, and all the Army officers were British. Before there was any active demand among Indians for self-government, the British Government, in the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms announced in 1917, took the first steps towards elected governments, and towards the

2. With a remarkable lack of tact, Lord Balfour sent General Allenby a large stock of pamphlets, describing the Jewish National Home, for distribution when he entered Jerusalem among a predominantly Arab population, who viewed the project with suspicion from the start. General Allenby conveniently forgot this order; and the troops put the pamphlets, it is recorded, "to other uses."

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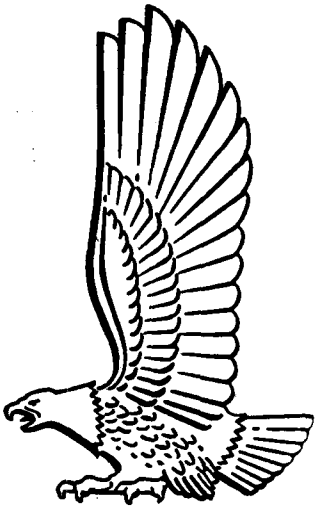

"In the name of 'objectivity' we keep our hands tied behind us while the other fellow is punching us all over the place. Indeed he can destroy us while we are still striving in the name of impartiality and objectivity not to express our convictions and, if possible, not to have any convictions.

"We are in a fight for our lives today. Our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor are at stake, and if we slavishly follow this idea of so-called objectivity while there is not the slightest semblance of 'objectivity' in the minds of our enemies, we are going to end up in oblivion. It is time for Americans to wake up! . . . ."

Dr. John C. Stevens
Abilene Christian College
Abilene, Texas

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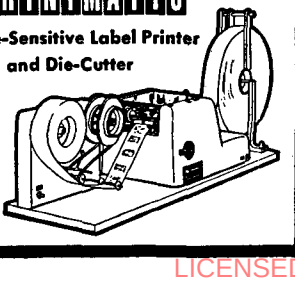

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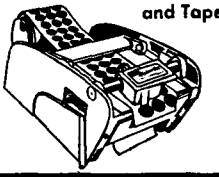

"Indianization" of the higher Civil Service and of the Army.

Measures like this, of their nature, take a long time to mature, and thirty years was only just long enough. Without the Montague-Chelmsford reforms, the independent India of 1947 would have lacked reliable civil and military administrators, and might have fallen into disorders as grave as in Indonesia or Burma. But disorder in India would have had far graver consequences for the world.

Now, after the lapse of forty years, we are beginning to see, with our dim intelligences, that 1917 indeed was a year in which were let loose some of the powerful forces which are shaping the present-day world, many of them evil, some perhaps good. And we can see that with the evil came also the antidote, if man is willing to use it.

AMERICAN CONSERVATIVES

(Continued from p. 167)

The individual genius of each nation must be honored and respected. The conservative always departs from a tradition with a heavy heart. If he takes such a step, he will do so in accordance with his sovereign thinking, not because he wants to accommodate himself with the spirit of the time.

Yet, so many American conservatives restrict themselves to furious condemnations or whining laments. Too conservative in the narrowest etymological sense of the term, they do not muster the courage to advocate real change. The Left does this vociferously, while conservatives, though desiring minor "corrections" here and there, recoil almost instinctively from the very idea of radical political changes without which a future in honor and freedom is almost unimaginable. Consciously-subconsciously, their fear of the "reactionary" label is too strong.

Of course, certain basic discussions have hardly begun in your country. The problem whether in a "genuine democracy" a sensible foreign policy is at all possible, is obviously not on the agenda. It is high time that this and other questions be taken up and that new ways and solutions be proposed. This is the primary task of the conservative movement. Nobody will relieve it from this duty.

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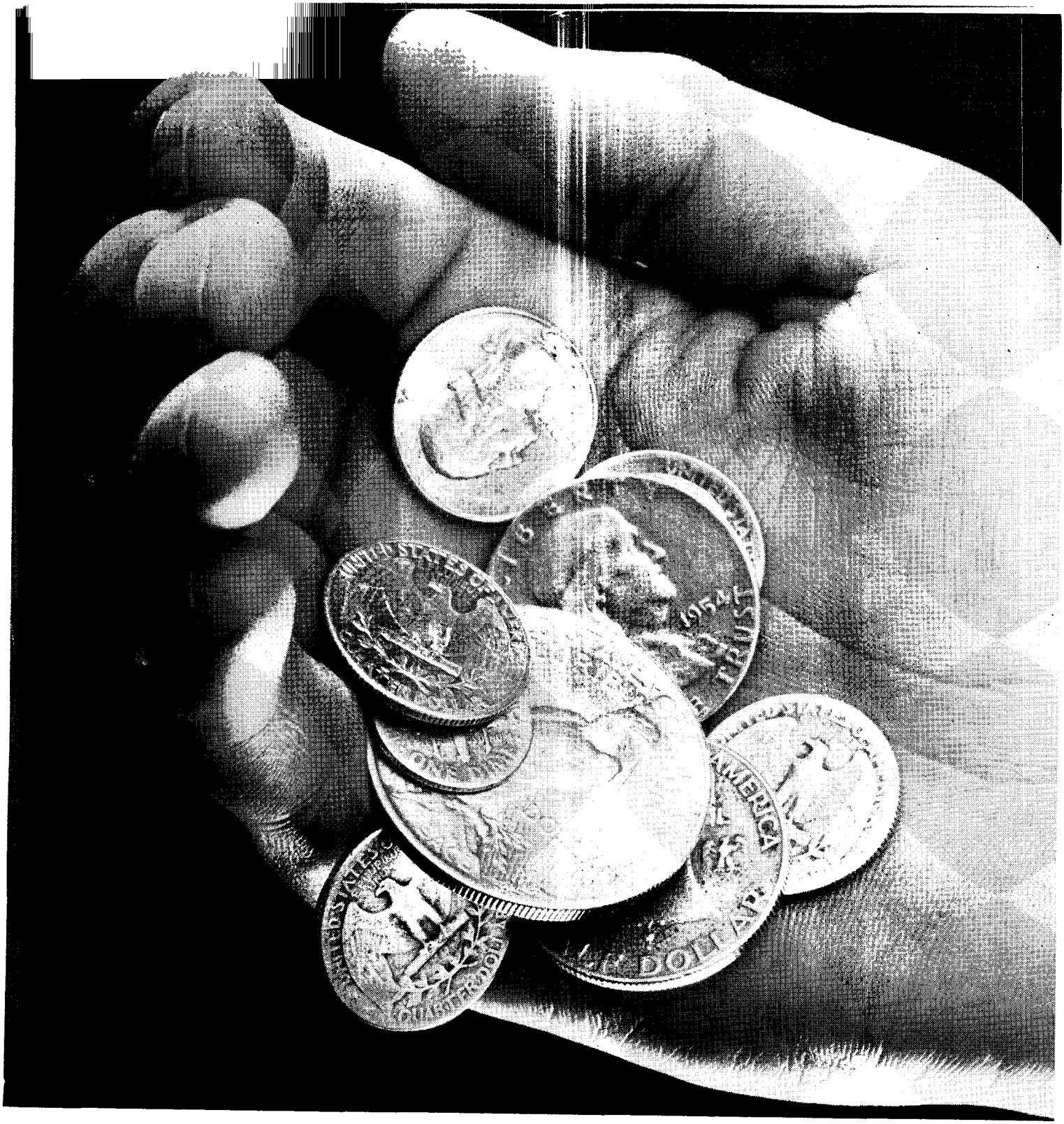

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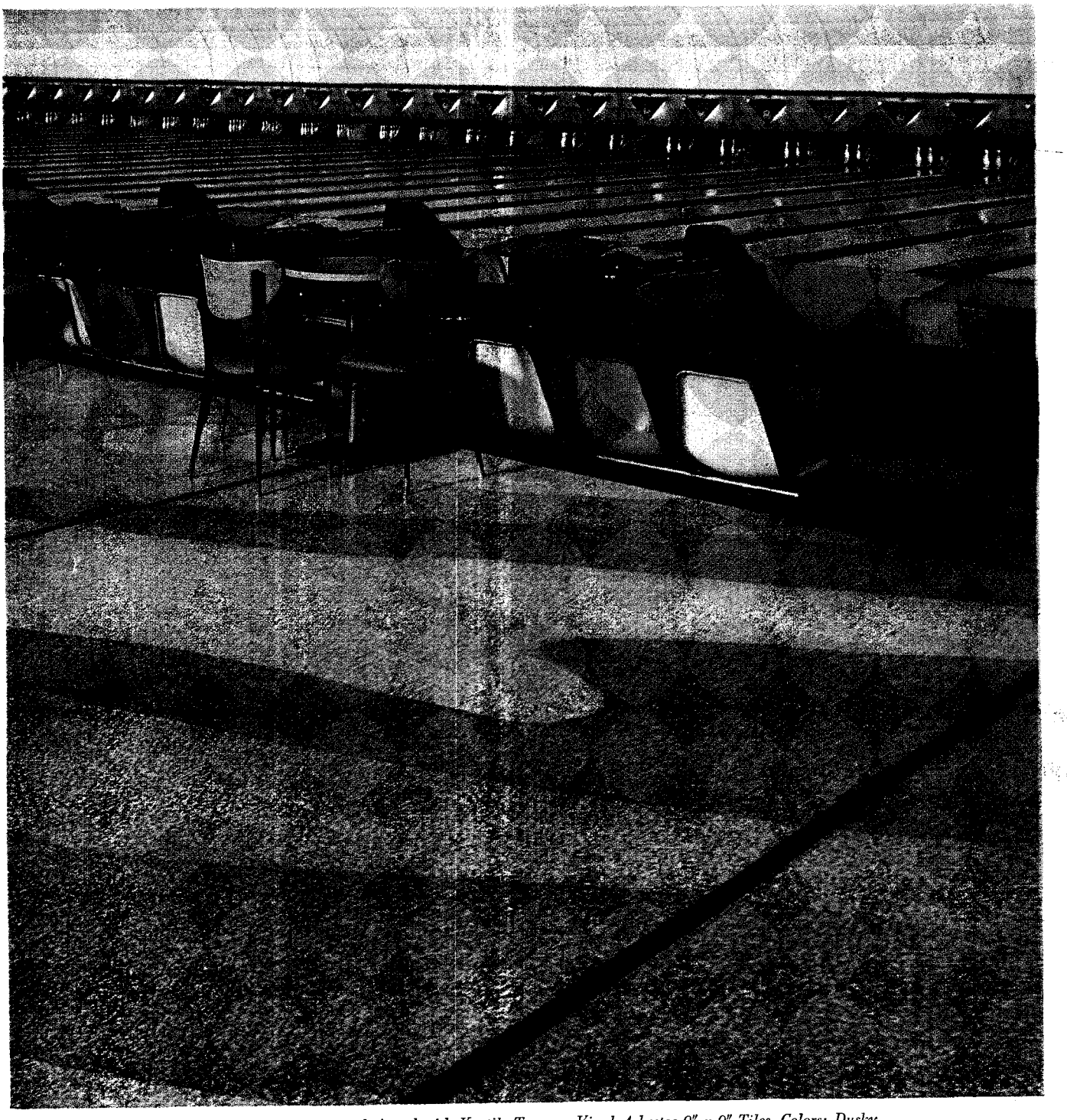

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